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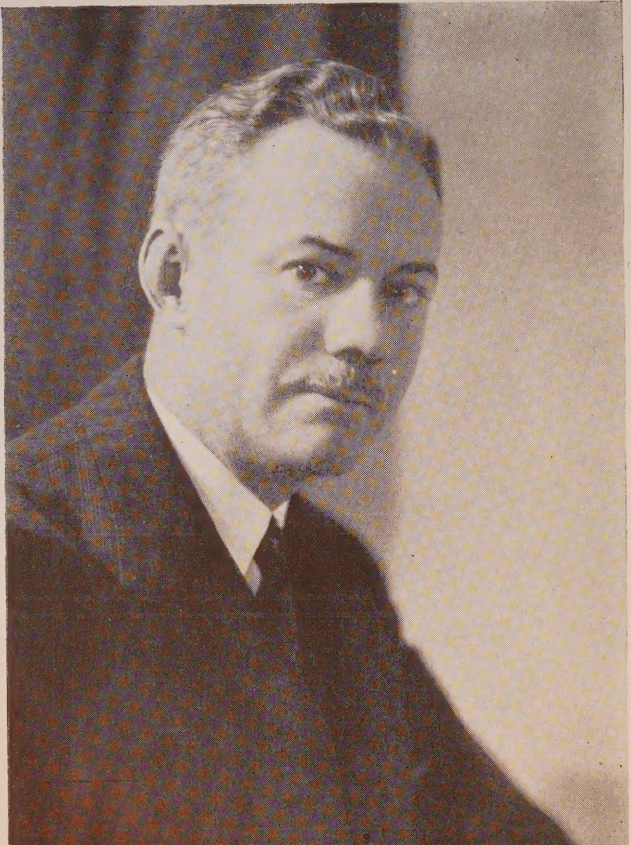

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MAJOR W. JAMES BAXTER, M.C.

PRESIDENT OF THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA, 1933-34

EMPIRE CLUB
OF
CANADA

ADDRESSES DELIVERED TO THE MEMBERS DURING THE YEAR 1933-34

Thirty-first Year of Issue

CANADA AND A UNITED EMPIRE

GOD SAVE THE KING

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DISARMAMENT

An Address by the Honourable MAURICE DUPRE

January 12, 1933

Lieut.-Colonel George A. Drew, the President, introduced the speaker.

Mr. Dupre:—Mr. President, Gentlemen: I must confess that I feel rather awkward and nervous—I, from the Province of Quebec, coming here to address an audience in Toronto—but I took precautions and I have here two of my bodyguard. I have here two of my friends from Quebec City—two captains of industry who carry on business in the City of Toronto. I name my two friends—Mr. L. J. Adjutor Amyot and Mr. Horatio Amyot. Their father was the Honourable G. E. Amyot, one of the outstanding leaders in the industrial world of the Province of Quebec and I may say that his two sons are following in his footsteps. I wouldn't say that they are "two chips off the old block" but I would say that they are "duplicates of the old block."

I feel nervous for a second reason. I am sure that the great majority of you know more about disarmament than I do. I have here, next to me, your learned and distinguished President (Colonel Drew) whose articles have been read all over the country and it seems to me that he should be the lecturer today and not I.

At all events, since I have accepted his kind invitation, all I have to say before I commence, is that this is a very, very dry subject. It is very hard to crack jokes on disarmament and I am sorry that some of you didn't bring any pillows in order to sleep more comfortably.

Practically every government in the world at the present time is struggling with almost unbearable economic and financial difficulties—economizing in this and economizing in that. They are hunting for a dollar here and a dollar there in order to balance budgets. Yet, in the midst of this crushing struggle we can find more than five billion dollars—I didn't say "million," but five billion dollars—to spend on instruments of destruction. If this expenditure ensured peace it might be justified, but we know now, after the struggle of the last war that swollen armaments do not ensure peace, but provoke war.

There was once a motto: "If you wish peace, prepare for war"; but the truth of this idea was tested in July, 1914, when every country in Europe was armed to the teeth. Did armaments prevent war then? There are many who think they gave Europe the final push into the abyss of destruction. Not only do armaments fail to prevent war, but they also fail to ensure victory, and Germany's bitter experience proved that fact for all time. Armaments can neither prevent a war nor win a war and yet we spend five billion dollars a year on armaments.

Possibly Bernard Shaw for once was right when he said: "If the rest of the universe is inhabited, the world is its lunatic asylum," present company excepted, including the audience over the radio, because maybe my wife is listening!

There is one encouraging fact, however. The world is becoming conscious of this particular madness and that is the first step toward sanity. We have done little disarming yet, but the fact remains that there is a vigorous and active public opinion in that direction. There is, for the first time in the history of the world, a serious, sustained and organized disarmament movement.

That movement, Gentlemen, was born out of the horror and futility of the last war. It has developed since that war and culminated in February, 1932, in the assembly in Geneva of the first World Conference for the reduction and limitation of armaments, with fifty-eight sovereign states represented. That Conference sat for six months and a half. It was very effective in talk; it was not so effective in action. It passed desirable resolutions. It enunciated praiseworthy ideas. But warships still ride the seas; tanks still rumble over the countryside; fighting aeroplanes still skim the clouds.

The Conference will meet again at the end of this month and it would not seem inappropriate at this time, to examine briefly the results of the first session of the Conference and the prospects for the second. I have not time to go into the first session in detail. The concrete results, I admit, are discouraging. The representatives were unanimous in their agreement on certain desirable principles but they were far from unanimous as to how these principles could be translated into action.

Take qualitative disarmament which means, in other words, armaments limited, not only by number but by type, through the abolition of those arms which are aggressive in character, efficacious against defence, or particularly dangerous to the civilian population.

It is one thing to say that offensive weapons should be abolished but it is quite another thing to decide what weapons are offensive. The Conference tried for weeks, and at the risk of seeming to be flippant, I am tempted to say that the only conclusions which were reached were:

First: All weapons are offensive if you do not possess any of them.

Second: The offensiveness of a weapon depends on whether you are behind it or in front of it.

And, third: Any weapon is offensive if you use it in an offensive manner.

And that is about as far as we got. There is, of course, another side of the picture. The results have not been purely negative. Essential principles have been supported. The uncontrolled development of the new weapon, air warfare, has been checked. A first step toward direct quantitative limitation of heavy artillery has been indicated; provision for a permanent Disarmament Commission has been made and some form of limitation of national defence expenditure has been approved in principle. The necessity for a solution of the problem of the private and state manufacture of arms, one of the vital phases of the whole disarmament question, has been reaffirmed. But the Conference has done more. It has kept the necessity of disarmament before the world. It has driven home more than ever the urgency of the problem. I venture to say that the closing resolution, summing up the achievement of the first session, would have been greeted with triumph when the Conference opened on February 2nd, but it was greeted with silence on July 23rd. Why? Why was it accepted with such lack of enthusiasm? Because of the progress of ideas during the last twelve months.

Further, if public opinion continues to work—and we must attend to that—the resolution from the next session of the Conference will be as far ahead of that of July 23rd, as the last one was ahead of anything that could have been carried on February 2nd.

There is another point—one often overlooked by critics of the results of the Conference—and that is that the conclusions of the final resolution are not the last word, but the first.

If that resolution contained all that could be done in respect to the limitation and reduction of armaments, it could be thrown in the waste paper basket. But it is only the first step and we must believe and see that it will be followed by others.

What are some of the obstacles to the second step? Last February, the Conference opened to the echo of guns in the Far East. Indeed, the first session of the Conference called to ensure peace, had to be postponed for three hours to permit the Council of the League to settle a war. I need hardly remind you that that obstacle to successful disarmament still remains. So far as the

Orient is concerned, the Dove of Peace finds it very difficult to be heard above the cannon's roar.

But there are other difficulties, and of these, the fundamental are political and not technical. That is why, Mr. President and Gentlemen, so many of these articles you read in the papers mistake their purpose. It is because the writers very often forget that the problem of disarmament before being a technical question, is a political question.

Armaments will exist until political conditions are such that there is no need for them. Armaments are merely the symptoms of a disease. If you want to remove the symptoms, get at the causes of the disease itself. It is the only way. You can not cure a fever by powdering the rash.

What, then, are these causes? They are fear, insecurity, injustice and resentment. All these have produced in Europe today, a feeling that some day there is going to be an explosion. The primary interest of the European States is protection against that explosion.

Self preservation is the first law of human nature and national preservation is the first law of political behaviour.

In spite of the development of the post-war machinery for arbitration and conciliation, in spite of treaties, pacts and guarantees, some nations still hope to find that preservation in armaments.

It is the political situation which prevents disarmament. Do you think that nations squander billions every year on guns, tanks, aeroplanes and warships for the joy of spending? They spend because they are convinced that therein lies security. It is fear that is the father of armaments. Remove fear and you remove guns, bayonets, poisonous gases and other abominations.

If every nation felt secure, disarmament would come of itself. Take the case of our own country. We do not want an army or a navy. We feel that we do not need it. We feel that we do not need it because no one wants to attack us. We have a security based, not on the foundation of armaments, but on the good will and respect of our neighbours. As Sir George Perley so well said at Geneva: "The best security for any state is the good will of its neighbours." Unfortunately, that is not the situation in Europe and until it is so, the road to disarmament will be a long and a very difficult one.

The first problem then, is the question of security. The French have recently proposed for the consideration of the Conference a very elaborate political solution for this problem, based on the organization of peace through guarantees of collective action against an aggressor state. It would put sanction behind the Kellogg Pact and force behind the League of Nations. It would pool all aggressive armaments and place them under the orders of the League. It would lay the basis for an international police force.

But hitherto, Anglo-Saxon states have fought shy of the French security thesis. They have felt that sanctions might not always be used against the right people, because, even with the best of intentions, how can you be sure in a dispute which state is the aggressor? It is the function of statesmen, as you know, to cause the other man to cause a war. We have been cold to the French idea for another reason. Does not any scheme for the oranization of peace really mean a scheme for the preservation of the *status quo* in Europe? And are we—three thousand miles away—to pledge ourselves to send contingents to be butchered on foreign soil because European governments have decided to revise by force an unjust political agreement?

Our position has been that the only lasting organization of peace must be based on prevention of war, not on the punishment of the aggressor. Before this can be achieved, there must be a real reduction in armaments. There can be no security while boundaries are fringed with bayonets. In short, disarmament before security, is the Anglo-Saxon thesis, and the French thesis is political security before disarmament.

There is a distinction between the two theses and this is the crux of the disarmament problem. The French and the Anglo-Saxon views must be reconciled. A year ago that was a well nigh impossible task; today it seems not beyond the bounds of statesmanship, for the recent French proposals are, from our point of view, less open to objection than any that have issued from the Quai d' Orsay in the last ten years. The other important political difficulty has been Germany and the problem of equality. As France shouts "Security," Germany shouts "Equality." She means by this that the unilateral disarmament forced upon her by the Treaty of Versailles must go.

You remember that the Treaty of Versailles forcibly reduced the armaments of the defeated powers to a defensive level. Germany accepted the disarmament, though, she claims, only on the understanding that all the powers would follow her lead. She finds that promise in the Covenant of the League of Nations and in the Treaty. The disarmament imposed on Germany as the result of bitter defeat is to her the badge of humiliation. So she asks: "Have the other powers carried out their promises? If not, why should we accept any longer a forced and unilateral disarmament?" In some repects this is the paramount question today in Germany's foreign policy. At the Conference, "equal status" was the watchword of the German delegates. They said, "You must come down to us or we must be allowed to go up to you." No great nation will forever accept a permanent status of inferiority.

This conception coloured the German attitude toward every proposal made last spring. If it were a question of what level of armaments was necessary for defence only, Germany had the answer: "It is our level as decided by the Treaty of Versailles." If it were a question of what weapons should be abolished, their reply was: "Those weapons forbidden to us by the Treaty of Versailles."

In July, when the closing resolution of the Conference was put to the vote, Germany, with Russia, refused to accept it and, as you know, declared that she could take no further part in the work of the Conference until the question of equality had been settled. For months, that remained the situation but the difficulty has now been solved. Germany returns to the Conference having accepted a satisfactory pledge that the question of equality will be dealt with. The situation, therefore, in these two essential aspects is brighter now than it was last July when the Conference adjourned.

So far, so good, for the political obstacles, but there are outstanding technical difficulties. Take, for instance, the question of chemical warfare. It is futile to destroy the weapons of the past if we ignore the armaments of the future. The next war, we are told, will be primarily technical. The combination to be feared most in the future will not be bullets and bayonets, but aircraft and gas, or aircraft and disease germs. Instead of the 'Charge of the Light Brigade,' we will have 'The Flight of the Gas Brigade.' There is a difficulty in limiting gas and bacteriological warfare. You may, of course, prohibit. It has been done and one of the results of the first session of the Conference was a drawing up of an agreement on such prohibition. But you cannot prevent a use of certain chemicals which are essential to our daily life, as dyes and drugs, photographic and other synthetic products which could be converted without much difficulty into poisonous gas. Indeed, our organic chemical factories are the arsenals of the future, but they are arsenals in disguise.

The picture becomes more sombre if you go a step further and determine the potential destructive effect of rays and subatomic energy. Scientists tell us that a drop of water contains sufficient of this subatomic energy to drive a touring car twenty-five miles an hour, continuously for twenty years. What will happen when science discovers how to release the energy and put it to destructive uses?

This seems remote and unreal. So did aircraft and tanks fifty years ago. If the peace enthusiasts, after the Franco-Prussian war, had told an audience that in the next war ships would fly through the air at two hundred miles an hour, that five hundred pound high explosive bombs would be dropped from twenty-five thousand feet, or that a gun would fire thirty miles, he would have been marched off to a mental hospital.

There is another difficulty. It is the question of the private manufacture of arms. And at this point, may I stop a moment and pay tribute to your distinguished President who has done so much to bring this problem home to the Canadian people. There is no aspect of this Disarmament Conference which is of greater importance than that of the private manufacture of arms. There is no aspect in which the Canadian government is more deeply interested.

If all armament manufacturing were in the hands of governments, the problem of control would be relatively simple, but this is not the case and so we have our Shearers and our Zaharoffs, to whom war means increased dividends and increased profits for shareholders.

There is no use denying the evils attendant on the private manufacture of armaments. On the other hand, it is essential to see where the alternative, which is state manufacture, will lead us. With state manufacture permitted, you would have a situtation where the various armament producing countries would be in direct competition for the market of non-producing countries. Every individual in the producing country would be the equivalent of a shareholder in the arsenal of the state. The success of the Government of the state in securing profitable armament orders would be domestic political success of the first order. This would hardly be a desirable state of affairs.

Look at the problem from the point of view of the non-industrial state. When the purchase of armaments from industrial states was under consideration, the decisive factor would be the necessity of purchasing from a government, one not only friendly in times of peace but which could be relied on to be an active ally in times of war.

Under no circumstances could it be assumed that the uninterrupted sale of armaments from government to government could be counted upon. As a result of this situation, a system of political and military alliances would be practically forced upon the state engaged in this trade. Could anything be worse? Certain non-producing states would seek the only way out of this dangerous situation and decide to establish their own government arsenals and as a result the manufacture of armaments would become more widely spread.

Again, the plants, being state-owned and operated and planned for war requirements, rather than those of peace, would become a much heavier charge against the national finances than if the equivalent of their output had been purchased in a world market.

And there is another difficulty. It is impossible to separate industry into war and peace categories, except in respect to the manufacture of certain weapons like machine guns, heavy artillery and the larger shells. The chemical, optical, transportation and communication industries are as vital to peace as to war. Raw cotton can be converted into a summer frock or the propellent for a sixteen inch shell. A military rifle and a sporting shotgun, a bayonet or a carving knife, a tractor and a tank, have differences of only minor detail in the process of their manufacture, but the state could not take over their manufacture.

I point out these difficulties in the case of the abolition of the private manufacture of armaments, not because I believe that something should not be done about the problem, but to show that unless we are careful the cure might be worse than the disease. The truth is that the evils of the private manufacture of armaments can not be separated from the evils of state manufacture and both are connected with the evils of war itself.

Whether private manufacture of armaments is abolished or not it should be submitted to stringent measures of control and then publicity. These measures should be extended to state industry as well; otherwise a country like France, manufacturing eighty per cent of its armaments in state arsenals would be practically immune from international publicity and control, while the United Kingdom, which relies largely upon private manufacture, would have its hands completely tied.

I need not go further into the technical difficulties. They can be overcome if the political problems are solved, but only then. I do feel, however, that the political atmosphere is better than it was last July. That is why I look forward to the forthcoming Conference, if not with enthusiasm, at least with hope.

Germany is back in the Conference. France is showing herself more accommodating on the question of security. The United States and Great Britain have both made practical disarmament proposals. More than this, the realization is spreading that the armament situation is a fundamental feature of the existing world political economic condition. It has been tied up to the depression and to the inter-governmental debts. This, I think, is all to the good.

You will not, I feel sure, expect a member of a government—of any government—to show any enthusiasm for to the disarmament movement. After all, it is easier to refrain from spending when you have nothing to spend.

May I close by relating, if I can, this disarmament question to Canada. What has it got to do with us?

Thanks to happy accidents of geography and history, we have no need for armaments, except for police pur- existing economic and financial difficulties, and yet, may I venture to suggest that those difficulties are an asset poses. No one would suggest that we cut down our land forces and I have never heard it whispered in those corridors of Geneva, where the real business of international conferences is carried on, that our navy is a menace to the peace of the world. In fact, I told them that we were ready to cut our navy in two if the other countries would do the same thing. (Laughter.)

But it is folly to imagine that what goes on at Geneva is of no particular concern of ours. It is—definitely and directly. In the first place, without some check of the growth of armaments, the world is going to find the road to economic recovery extremely difficult—not only because we are spending millions unproductively each year but also because armaments breed fear and distrust. This distrust and fear destroys international confidence and the delicately balanced economic and financial organization can never be restored to working order without the restoration of that confidence.

So there is a direct connection between the bayonets of Europe and the banks of Canada; between action at Geneva and unemployment in Ontario. But it is for us far more than a matter of dollars and cents. It is a matter of peace and war, of life and death. That may seem far-fetched but let me prove it.

I am convinced that without some form of disarmament the whole League system of outlawing war and peacefully settling disputes is in danger of collapse. I cannot conceive of the League of Nations surviving outbreaks in the Orient. I cannot conceive of it surviving failure to check that armament race which, as certain as night follows day, will result if the Geneva Conference collapses. We know the course of such a race. It is straight over the precipice and into the abyss of war.

But would the European armament race, with all its disastrous consequences, involve us? Well, Gentlemen, it is unnecessary to remind an Empire Club that we are a Dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is, I am sure, equally unnecessary to remind you that in the world of today there can be no longer isolation—splendid or otherwise.

The clashing rivalries and rumbling discontents of Europe may seem a long way off, but since 1914, we have known that a shot fired in a Polish corridor is heard across the Peace River and on Yonge and King Streets in Toronto.

As Sir George Perley so finely put it last February in Geneva: "Bitter experience has taught us in Canada that under present conditions we live in a world of interdependent states and fifty thousand Canadians who will forever sleep in European soil are silent witnesses to that fact."

So Canada must play its part in this great effort to reduce armaments as a step on the road to world peace. To those of you—and I am through—who complain of the slowness of the progress made, may I cite, as my concluding words, a parable which I heard Mr. Ramsay MacDonald use in an address at Geneva? He spoke as follows:

"We are all groaning under the slowness of the pace. So am I. I told you that the problems we have to face are not simple and they depend, not upon the good will of one nation but upon the good will of all nations.

"That reminds me of a story that was told in a sort of interpretation of the creation. The story is that when the powers in Heaven decided that earth was to be created and that the supreme end of creation was to be man, a great hallelujah went up.

"The first days came and there was nothing but a separation of vague things—a kind of general resolution declaring a principle. There were some very worthy archangels who said, 'This is slow, very slow.'

"The second day came and the earth separated from the waters and then there was reference to an expert committee to see what would follow and the archangels said: 'This is no good. There is far too much compromise in this business for us.' The revolt spread and the discontented started a newspaper of their own and the third day and the fourth day and the fifth day came and by that time all those angels had become so impatient that on the fifth day there was a revolution and the rebels had to be bundled out. The imperturbable and indomitable powers of creation then wiped their brows and said: 'Create Man,' and man was created on the sixth day."

Do not get disappointed Gentlemen, because things go too slowly. We will go on as quickly as possible and the sixth day will come and on that day we shall have accomplished work which will be recorded among the most illustrious in the pages of the history of the world.

I thank you. (Applause.)

OUR INDIAN PARTNER

AN ADDRESS BY THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN

January 18, 1933

LIEUT.-COL. GEORGE A. DREW, President, introduced the speaker.

THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I feel that it is a great honour, and all the more an honour to a Scotsman, to be allowed to say a few words to you today on the subject of the new Indian Constitution, because the adventure on which Great Britain is engaged in India today is, perhaps, the greatest political adventure which has ever been attempted at a single time by a single state. And it is an adventure, the outcome of which you in Canada, in the last result are nearly as much concerned as we are in the British Isles, or as the Indians are in India.

India is part of the British Commonwealth and today it includes one-sixth of the human race within its boundaries. It is starting or making a further advance toward self government on a scale unexampled in human history and the results of that experiment must be far reaching, not only to India and to Great Britain, but to the Empire and the world.

Now, let me, in a few words, give you some idea of the extent and nature of the problem. India contains three hundred and fifty-two million people—as many as are in the whole of Europe, excluding European Russia. It falls into two natural divisions—British India which is that two-thirds to three-quarters of India which is directly governed by Great Britain, and Indian India which is governed by hereditary Indian princes of whom there are about a hundred and twenty-five important ones and five hundred minor ones.

These princes govern their territory of which Hyderabad, with seventeen million inhabitants is the largest, down to states with only a few ten of thousands of inhabitants on the other end of the scale. These princes govern the states in a manner which is traditional in India and on the pages of recorded history they are referred to as absolute monarchs. Except for the supervising power of Great Britain, they have been left with all the panoply, prestige and power of hereditary monarchy in the Orient.

In addition to that main division there are two others. The Indian people speak some twenty main languages, and of each of these languages there are at least a million speakers. And these languages broadly correspond to racial divisions, overlaid by other communal considerations, but, broadly corresponding to divisions of race in India itself. So English, today, is the common language of the country. That is to say, all conferences, and parliamentary proceedings on an all-India basis are conducted in English as the "lingua franca" of the educated section of Indian society, just as international conferences today are increasingly being conducted in the English language as being the language which the largest number of nations learn to speak.

The final division is what you have often seen referred to in the newspapers as the communal division. This, in effect, is a religious division. The main communal division is between the Hindus and the Moslems. There are other minor religions; there are between five and six million Indian Christians; there are three million Sikhs, and there are other minor sects, but the religious distinction in India today is more important than the political. India is very much in the same condition as Europe after the Renaissance when it was divided between Roman Catholic and Protestant. European and

Indian political divisions are dominated by the communal issue. I understand that the communal issue, even in Canada, is not wholly dead, and that your political controversies are sometimes tinged by a feeling that has a religious origin. Enlarge that to a very high degree and you will understand how Indian politics tends to separate between Hinduism and Islamism. The number of the Mohammedans is about eighty millions and the number of the Hindus about two hundred and fifty millions. That gives you some idea of the basic problem from which Constitution builders have to proceed.

India has been, in a greater or less degree, under British rule for a hundred and fifty years. It began in the days of the East India Company. The control was taken over by the British Government by a gradual process which culminated in 1830 and by the middle of the last century the whole of the continent lying to the south of the Himalayas and southeast of Afghanistan was brought under control of a single government—a government brought under the control of Great Britain and acting under the British Civil Service — probably the greatest bureaucracy of which the world has record. Men recruited in England went out to India and served for twenty or thirty years, acting as the heads of each individual district in India.

That system gave to India the priceless boon of peace and unity. It led to considerable advance in education, mainly university education. It equipped India with the main elements of modern economic life—railways and roads. It added vast areas under irrigation. It introduced a modern and impartial judicial system.

But, as you, Gentlemen, in Canada, can understand, even the best of governments is not always regarded as being enough, and in 1833—exactly a century ago—Lord Macauley wrote a famous minute, accepted by the Viceroy and the Indian offices, stating that, in his view, the educational development of India should be on the basis of western culture and the English language. From that time onward, the schools and universities of India have educated Indians in the knowledge and practices and customs, political, social and economic, which are the common basis of western civilization. They were brought up on Mills and Burke and Gladstone and all the other leaders of political democracy in the West. It was inevitably, in Macauley's view, the logical and necessary outcome of that education, that the Indians in due time should begin to demand the right to govern themselves, and sure enough, toward the end of the century, the Nationalist movement in India was formed, under the name of the Indian National Congress.

It steadily stengthened and gradually the British Government began to recognize the demands of educated India for a larger share in the government of the country and the first important political reform was introduced by Lord Morley in 1908, known as the Morley-Minto Reform. Lord Minto was then the Viceroy of India. Under this Reform Legislative Councils were introduced into all the provinces and the size of those already in existence increased, partly by election, partly by nomination. These Legislatures were given the duty of passing legislation, although subordinate to the Government of India which could make its will prevail by asserting to the Legislatures that it would not accept their proposals.

Two later events enormously strengthened the Nationalist Movement in India. One was the victory of Japan over Russia which stirred Asia to the bottom, as proving that an Asiatic people could resist and defeat what was then regarded as one of the great western military powers. The second event was the World War which had the effect in the first place, of filling India with enthusiasm for the cause of the Allies which they supported valliantly, both in cash and on the field, but which later enormously lessened the prestige of Europe in the mind of India as the War dragged on and Europe seemed more and more to be a congeries of warring nations, unworthy of the civilization they previously possessed. The demand for a rapid expansion of self government became more and more intense in India.

In 1919, a new Constitution, developing still further the Morley-Minto experiment was put on the Statute books. The Provincial Legislatures—and there are nine provinces in India—were enlarged. The franchise was given to some seven million voters and a Legislative Assembly was created for All India, elected by a million voters. In the Provinces the powers of government were divided. Part was entrusted to ministers responsible to those Legislatures. Part was retained in the hands of the civil servants who were still the advisors and ministers of the government. In the centre, the Legislature still remained, an advisory body; that is to say, ministries could not be made or unmade at will.

The Indian National Congress which included a large proportion of Moslems as well as Hindus, divided between those who said, "We will work the Constitution and try to obtain more governing powers by constitutional means from within", and the element which said, "No, we will not co-operate. We will try to break down the Constitution by revolutionary methods and try to force the hands of Great Britain by what Mr. Gandhi has called 'non-violent non-co-operation', or more simply, 'civil disobedience' ". And India has been divided ever since between those two groups of people—the Constitutionists and the Non-violent Revolutionists.

As a result of this controversy, however, the Moslem community became more and more convinced that the Indian National Conference was primarily representative of Hinduism and they proceeded more and more to pursue a policy, designed in the first instance to protect their rights as Moslems in the new India. This is why the communal question has loomed so large in the discussions of the last three or four years. The Moslems said that they would not co-operate in working the Constitution unless given a certain percentage of seats in the Legislature, and certain other measures were demanded as necessary for their own protection.

The Constitution of 1919 provided that at the end of ten years a Commission should go out from England to examine the question and report and advise parliament as to what further steps should be taken to develop self government in India. The last four or five years has been preoccupied by the deliberations initiated by the Indian Statutory Commission, headed by Sir John Simon, better known as the Simon Commission.

The Simon Commission recommended that the provinces should be made autonomous and that no change should be made in the centre, except to increase the size and widen the franchise for the Assembly. This proposal was objected to and boycotted, not only by the more extreme element of Congress, but by the political classes in India, as a whole, and under Lord Irwin's initiative, a Round Table Conference, composed, so far as India was concerned, of the leaders of all political groups, and so far as Great Britain was concerned, of the representatives of the three political parties, was called with a view to discussing whether a Constitution could not be formulated by agreement.

In the early stages the India National Congress went into civil disobedience as a protest against that method and you will remember the excitement over Mr. Gandhi's proclamation of independence — his famous march to Dandi on the coast to make salt in defiance of the salt laws, and his subsequent arrest and long fast during which the government was compelled to deal with civil disobedience.

The Round Table Conference which took place shortly after the Gandhi episode, reached, in substance, an agreement on three main points. In the first place, the Indian princes, to the astonishment of most students of the problem, came forward and proclaimed their readiness to form part of an All Indian Federation. They felt that if India was going to move forward, from their point of view, the lesser of two evils was to form part of the All India government and not remain in isolation, scattered from one end of India to the other, and this was coupled with the demand or condition if they did come in, that some measure of responsibility should be given to the Central Government as well as to the Provinces.

This proposal was accepted by the Indian Government and accepted by the leaders of the British political parties on the condition that adequate safeguards would be introduced into the Constitution to ensure, if the experiment proved a failure, or if the government began to decline, that Great Britain would still be in a position to prevent chaos from supervening in India and to maintain the financial integrity of the country. Very briefly, it was that Great Britain, through the Viceroy, should control the army and foreign affairs and over financial and other matters should have a field of special responsibility which would entitle it, constitutionally, to intervene in the event of the government adopting a policy which, in its view, was undermining the credit of India on one hand, or was a grave menace to the peace and tranquillity of the country. That was the broad thesis of the Round Table Conference.

A further conference was held at which Mr. Gandhi, after the famous Irwin-Gandhi interview, was present. It did not lead to any conclusive result. Civil disobedience was renewed at a later stage and Mr. Gandhi went back to jail and most of the conference leaders went to jail, where very large numbers of them are this moment for civil disobedience.

Finally, during this last year, a number of Commissions have been in India with a view to filling in certain gaps in the Constitution. The most important is the one over which I had the honour to preside, the Franchise Commission, which had as its objective that the voters of the provinces should be raised from a total of seven million to a total of thirty-five million, and that the electorate of the Federal Assembly should be raised from one million to seven million, or three per cent of the population, and should consist of those voters who have been voting in the provinces for the last twelve years and who, therefore, had some experience.

That, Gentlemen, very briefly, gives you the vertebrae of the problem and the way in which it is being approached in India. It is, very obviously, a very inadequate statement but the subject, as you understand, is so gigantic and so full of complexities that it would take hours, if not days, to explain in detail.

I think that you will ask yourselves one central question which I shall propound on your behalf and endeavour to answer: "Are we really proceeding on the right lines?"

There are two schools of opinion in England on that subject. While, on the whole, India thinks we are going too slowly, and wants a more rapid advance, there is a school of opinion in England which thinks we are going too fast. Its leader at the moment is Mr. Winston Churchill and his thesis is, roughly, this:—Ninety per cent of the population of India is still illiterate. It is divided in the way in which I have already described, as deeply as in Europe itself, by language, race and religion. It derives its unity today solely from the hand of Great Britain and its historic past. Is it conceivable that, left to itself, India can in so enormous and complicated and so divided a country, be capable of maintaining peace and unity, and financial stability, and also ensure the progress of so enormous a country? It is a query which every sensible person must realize to be a serious one and one not likely to be ignored.

The logical conclusion of answering in the negative is that you leave things in substance as they are; that the advance which is possible if you deny the major premise can only be an advance of the smallest kind.

The majority opinion of those who study the question in Great Britain, and the opinion both of the late Labour Government and the present National Government, is that we have got to move forward and here are the major reasons:—There are in the universities of India today a hundred thousand students all the time. Every one of those—and there have been a hundred thousand for many years—are being turned out, filled with the knowledge and aspirations of the West—young Nationalists to a man, except in so far as they are Communists. India is covered by an active vernacular press. Every newspaper in India except two which are owned by Europeans and British in India, are owned and edited by some Indian political party which is Nationalist in aspiration, though some parties are predominantly Hindu or Moslem. Recent economic developments have begun to bring home in some degree, even to that ninety per cent of the population of India which is left in those thousands of small villages, that the standard of living is in some degree under the control of humanly controlled forces and not of the gods, and they are anxious for a policy to be adopted which will raise the price for their products and cheapen the cost of what they buy. Almost every village in India has within it a certain number of advocates of the National India Congress, who tell them that on the whole the root of all their troubles is that they are being governed by foreigners who do not understand their problems. Finally, for the last twenty years there have been Legislatures of our own creation in India, every voter of which is an Indian, and the vast majority of whose members are not only Indians, but are Nationalists of some kind or other.

Can you ignore those facts? Let us consider what the maintenance of an autocratic government, however benevolent or however well-intentioned, implies in the modern world. You can no more fight a war today with weapons of the last century. You can't possibly fight a war today, whatever your valour or finances, unless you have at your disposal aeroplanes, tanks, high explosives, machine guns and the whole paraphernalia of recognized militarism. It is also proved that you can not maintain an autocratic government without modernizing your instruments, and since the war we have had some lessons in a number of ways as to what steps are necessary to modernize the mechanism of autocratic government, and I find that the lesson is threefold.

It is not enough to have the police, to have the army, and to have the Civil Service. You have got to watch every educational institution and especially the universities--an instrument for government propaganda today —and forbid either teaching or speech which is subversive of the regime. You have got to own and control every newspaper in the country and all the news agencies in order that you may be assured that only news friendly to the regime appears in the press. And, finally, you have to have a party which will tolerate no opposition to itself, which finds its roots in every village and which controls the whole legislative and political machinery of the country from top to bottom.

That is the modern instrument for blind loyalty to a dynasty and I venture to think that nobody in this room and nobody in England who, if they wished to do so, would say that it is possible for a country like Great Britain, with some twelve hundred to two thousand civil servants and a small army in India, to create an instrument of autocracy of that kind, however benevolent or well-intentioned it may be. Without creating such an instrument it is impossible to maintain the system of government in India which existed in the last century.

Therefore, the predominant opinion in England is, that doubtful as the future inevitably must be, the only thing to do is to proceed along the lines laid down by the Indian National Congress, to try to bring into being a Federation for All India in which Indian India, with its stable traditions, is balanced by Britain with its more democratic methods; in which real responsibility for their own affairs is entrusted to the vote of Indian opinion, with due regard to the rights of the minorities in India, and that Great Britain should retain in its hands safeguards which, while they will only be called into effect, if India should produce legislatures incapable of administering stable government, will yet be effective. If that hope is disappointed, then — and this is serious — there is reason for believing that India is moving as many other countries since the war, toward financial break-down or political chaos. That view is held by the Nationalist Government and it is held by myself.

It is a fact that there is more political interest than some of our croakers and pessimists believe. If we make a real forward movement we can win the confidence and trust, once more, of the best element in India, and during the next thirty years—none of us would like to prophecy what the world will be like thirty years hence—during the next thirty years it will be possible to bring into being a structure of government in India which will give real responsibility to Indians and yet enable Great Britain to assure both India and the world that India is not going to follow the steps of China into chaos or ruin.

It is the greatest experiment, as I said at the beginning, to which any nation has ever set its hand—to bring into being a system of federal parliamentary government for three hundred and fifty million people, divided as the Indians are divided. There is, in my view, no other way but to move forward, resolutely and cautiously, in the hope that when you do appeal to man's better nature, when you do put on him or her, real responsibilities, they rise to them and at the end of the thirty years, people will say that the political genius of this ancient race of which you are a part here, has not faltered at the threshold of the greatest task put on them and in its wisdom it has guided India over the most difficult transition that has ever confronted a great people. (Applause).

THE NEW BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

An Address by THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WEDGWOOD BENN.

January 26, 1933

Lieut.-Colonel George A. Drew, President, introduced the speaker.

Right Hon. Mr. Benn: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: First of all, perhaps, I had better get rid of my dark secret which is this: It is the first time that I have been in Canada or, indeed, across the Atlantic Ocean at all, and if, as is indeed the fact, I felt shy and anxious about this important visit, every shade of anxiety or any shyness or timidity I felt has been brushed aside by the warmth of the welcome kindly accorded to me.

In the anteroom a few minutes ago, it seemed that the entire staff of the British end of the Flying Corps in Italy were gathered together, and I met, for the first time after over fourteen years, many whose friendship I made at the time. It is a matter of deep regret to me that my greatest friend at that time is not with us today, but I venture to think that not only in Canada but throughout the British Empire, the name of "Barker" will always have a high place of honour.

They say, my flying friends—I was not much in the Flying Corps myself—but the important people present will bear me out when I say that one of the sayings in the Flying Corps was this: "The dashboard has seven instruments, each one of which gives you a good reason for going home." That saying never held any significance for Barker. If you ask me to say what I thought most of in Barker, if you will forgive a colloquial expression, I would say that he had "guts." Once he started, he never gave up. If it hadn't been for General Mitchell and Colonel Barker, that interesting little experiment to which the Chairman referred—the dropping of spies over behind the enemy lines with black silk parachutes would never have taken place.

I am amazed at my courage in associating on terms of equality with General Mitchell, because, in those days I trembled at his glance. In those days when anyone with a brass hat appeared, well, you know how we felt—and now the world is altogether altered. (Laughter).

Now, Gentlemen, this is Australia Day. It is the thirty-first birthday of the great Dominion of Australia and as a serious topic for the few remarks that I have the honour of addressing to you, I have selected this, namely, the growth of Empire on the political side as I, myself, have seen it in the course of my twenty-six years' experience in the House of Commons. This is not what one might call a philsophical synthesis; it is not high flown theorizing; it is merely what I have seen with my own eyes in the growth of this institution whose potentialities for good in the world are unlimited and which we call "The British Commonwealth."

First, let me remind you how, in the course of a hundred years our conception of the British Empire has utterly changed. I should like to read, if I might, these very fine words, spoken by that great orator, Daniel Webster, who, in speaking of the British Empire said: "It is a power which has dotted over the whole surface of the globe with her possessions and military posts; whose morning drum beat, following the sun and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain — the martial airs of England". That, I venture to think, is one of the finest definitions of the old conception of Empire that has ever been spoken. How changed is our view today! Our theory today is not that of an Empire vested with force. We have an Empire resting on liberty and free associations;

a family of free and equal sovereign states. When other people, outside of the British Common wealth, devise Kellogg Pacts or Leagues of Nations, there is no difficulty about us adhering, because those are the principles upon which the British Empire has been founded. The absolute absence of war within the British Commonwealth, the absolute willingness to settle problems which confront us through cooperation and discussion, are an evidence of our adherence to these principles.

I suppose that most of the men here are of an age to have been in the war. What do we think of war? Personally, I don't believe in war for the same reason that the man said that he didn't believe in ghosts. Somebody said to this man, "Do you believe in ghosts?" He said, "No, I have seen too many of them." I have seen too much of war to believe in it.

Of the great development of the two Dominions which have come into being during my own parliamentary experience and of the problems which face us in the future in the East, I should like to take from my notebook the things that I have observed. I do not promise any deep philosophical utterances; they are merely the facts, as indicated by my own experience and as I have seen them close up in the House of Commons.

I should say, first: In the development of the Empire, the Mother Country is well advised to give boldly when demands are made. Second: There is no use in the development of self government, to give it without the gift of real responsibility. Third: I should say that every new self governing state—and I am coming to the new problems in a moment—must be made to understand that freedom within the British Commonwealth means freedom to pursue its own destiny within the Empire, and the theory is not that people can follow some model thrust upon them. They are free to develop their own patriotic interests and standards, inspired by their own Dominion in the larger Federation which we call 'The British Commonwealth'. The fourth is this: A government founded upon the popular will has a degree of authority in maintaing public order, which is the first duty of a government, which no external government, even within the Commonwealth, can possibly possess.

Let me take my three examples: I am going to deal with South Africa, with the Free State of Ireland, and a word or two, not much, about a problem with which I was associated for two and one half years; I mean the development of the British Government in India.

My first leader in the British House of Commons was Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. He was a bold critic of the policy of the British Government in the South African War. Some thought him far too bold and some thought him far too outspoken. He was much criticized in the early nineties for those utterances. The details of the campaign he continually criticized and his famous remark about "the methods of barbarism" was the one thing which nailed him to the mast, so to speak. I am not defending him. I am merely stating the facts as I see them.

When the War was over, through those men in Great Britain who sympathized with the Dutch point of view, we induced the Dutch Generals, Botha and Smuts and others, to come in, and South Africa signed the articles of the Peace of Vereeniging at Pretoria, which was the foundation of the South African Dominion.

The first important occasion of my experience in the House of Commons was when Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, in defiance of the opposition and against the wishes of even some of his own followers, gave boldly to South Africa a Constitution in relation to the Dutch who had been battling in the field against the British Empire. I remember very well, the comments of a great Empire builder, Mr. Balfour, who said on that occasion, "It is madness to do any such thing." He went further. He named people and he said, "Is it humanly reasonable to suppose (and he named Dutch Generals who were in the field against us) that those men can cherish for the

British Empire anything but feelings tempered with, to use a weaker word, 'hostility'?"

The Government went forward with its plan and within eight years those Dutch who had been in the field against us in South Africa were leading the British armies to victory in the Great War of 1914.

I shall tell you of my own personal experience in this matter. In Italy we had in our squadron a boy called Tandura. He was a comparatively young fellow, rather timid, not particularly popular. He was a young Dutchman who had volunteered to come to the war and who went to his death voluntarily in the War for the British Empire. He told me that as a lad he had been taken a prisoner by the British troops in the South African War.

Now, I ask you, show me a government in the world that can convert a man who has been a prisoner of war into a volunteer to defend the Empire and I will show you that it is a better form of government.

There was still one step to take and it is interesting to notice that Mr. Balfour, who has been the stern critic of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in his South African policy, was, himself, to be the man to complete the Union in South Africa of the four British colonies. General Smuts was the leader in South African politics. In the program of his party, the Nationalist Party, was the item 'secession', and he came to London in 1916 with his mandate to see that this part of the program—secession—was granted by the British Government. He was met in a way which, I think, must have surprised him, for Mr. Balfour, the man who had stood up and denounced Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman for the boldness of his policy in regard to South Africa, expressed himself as being in sympathy with the rights of the Dominion, and made it plain to General Smuts that there was no need to have a secession paragraph in his program. General Smuts announced that he was satisfied and he went back to South Africa, and he struck out the clause with regard to secession from the program of his party.

The result of this free grant of liberty was a triumph for the political system which the political wit of the British race has produced and as we know, even in the later troubles to which I shall refer in a moment, in Ireland it was General Hertzog who came forward, freely advising the President of the Irish Free State, Eamon de Valera, to act in the interests of the Union of the British Commonwealth.

Now, let me take my second example—Ireland. When I first entered politics, the Irish political situation had passed from the acute stage. My father had voted for Gladstone's earlier Home Rule bill. In my time, 1906, the mere promise of self government for Ireland had converted an extremely insurgent situation into a situation of political alliance and, probably, security and peace. The Irish party which was led by Mr. John Redmond at that time was definitely an insurgent party. The two Nationalist parties in Ireland had amalgamated under his leadership in 1900. This party had no interest in British politics except to secure self government.

John Redmond died in 1918 and the next leader of the Irish party was Michael Collins. When he died in 1922, he was succeeded by the present leader, de Valera.

The mere promise of more liberty, produced in 1914 the most remarkable result. I sat in the House of Commons in August, 1914. I saw something happen that I never saw before. I saw chairs brought in, and in a House where rules and regulations are as strict as they are in the British House of Commons, that was indeed an innovation. Chairs were brought in and we sat, awestruck. We heard the speech of Sir Edward Grey. We heard the speeches, as we expected, from the Opposition. Then the Irish Home Rule Leader John Redmond stood up and announced that for his part, his country and his party, were throwing in their lot with the British Government. It was a most remarkable demonstration for a leader of the Nationalist party. And more remarkable still, his brother announced that he proposed to enlist in the army and fight for Britain. And, more remarkable even than that, was this: that when he met his death he was carried to the hospital—Major Willie Redmond, the Irish Nationalist—was carried to the hospital in an Ulster ambulance. So remarkable have been the effects of the policies that have been pursued.

I remember Tom Kettle, one of the most brilliant of the younger Irishmen of those days—a rebel Irishman himself, if ever there was a rebel Irishman. He was a brillant poet, a brilliant writer. He was killed in the War and before he died he wrote a verse, dedicated to his little daughter, who was only two years old. The gist of the verse was this: The claim that the War had on him was that within the Commonwealth, he had liberty to fight for the good and advancement of his own country. The phrase 'Irish patriotism' expressed for him the greater Imperial patriotism.

There is a moral in this: If you do not teach people—I think, too, of the East—that they can pursue their interests and ideals within the boundaries of the Commonwealth, these links are no links at all.

I remember very well before the settlement of the question in 1921, the House of Commons went through the solemn task of passing a Government of Ireland Act in 1920. Clause by clause, chapter by chapter, we passed the Act. The fact was that it had no Irish backing. It was never operated because it had no Irish backing. In the Treaty of 1921, all parties co-operated. It was not a party settlement at all. Lloyd George, Churchill, Baldwin—all co-operated, and in a Treaty the status of Ireland was defined as being the status of Canada.

We have problems today. We do not know what the result of the Irish election will be. Personally, I deplore more than I can possibly say, the existence of a tariff war within the boundaries of the British Empire. I deplore it!

I will say this: I am perfectly certain that the British Government will be well advised to remember that boldness in giving is the real solvent in problems of this kind and when you prove to any Irish patriot, that Irish or French as he may be, within the Commonwealth he can make his own country great, I think that you are approaching the solution which you can prove over a hundred years for the majority of the political problems within the British Empire.

A word or two about what lies ahead: This solvent, Freedom, has had a marvellous success. Englishmen, even the Scots, within their limits—my wife is Scottish—are satisfied with their associations with Great Britain, and we have Dutchmen, Frenchmen, and all nationalities who, today, freely find their place within the British Empire. Can we extend this freedom to Asia today? That is the problem that faces us urgently within the present day. We had the smaller phases of it in Malta, Ceylon and Cypress, but the greatest of all is, of course, India.

In Canada you are far more directly interested than we, at home, in the Japanese problem, and the difficulty there, as it seems to me, is not in a conflict between the Japanese and the Chinese at all, but in the possible leadership of the East, gained by the Japanese, against the West. That seems to me to be the real problem in the Orient. As you look at it, the League of Nations might perhaps be visualized by an Oriental as being too much an Occidental or even a European affair. Does the East play enough part to give the League of Nations a proper balance? And it is there, in my view, that the place of India rightly comes.

India is a link between the East and the West—an interpreter of the West to the East, and of the East to the West. It is a country which, as Lord Zetland, I think I read, said to an audience in Toronto only yesterday, "has under British influence gained something of the British love of liberty, has enjoyed the blessings of a powerful Central Government and in which those who object most to the British connection, uniquely express their objection in the British language". In fact I have been told that a particularly eloquent speaker who was criticizing the British Government at a meeting of the Nationalist Congress was reproved because he wasn't expressing himself in English and others who hadn't the same connection as he, couldn't understand what he was saying. The question, really—and it is an urgent question which faces the British Commonwealth today—is this: Will this bridge bear the strain because there are signs on every hand that something must be done and done quickly?

There is one thing that one can write off at once. You can not hold India by force. It is impossible. First, Great Britain won't do it. Secondly, world opinion wouldn't tolerate it. Thirdly, it is altogther out of keeping with the traditions of our own Commonwealth. We must, if the connection is to be maintained, transform it into a voluntary partnership. After all, why should we complain? We taught the Indians to love liberty, as we understand it. We put the language within their reach—the whole British literature of liberty, we put into their hands. Then, we should be the very last to be surprised or disappointed that they should learn the lesson we have taught them.

Furthermore, you cannot expect India to sit aside unmoved by what is happening in the world. The Japanese-Russian war undoubtedly had its effect on the Indian people. It was the first time that an Oriental people had defeated what was regarded as one of the world powers. Then the Great War came in which India gave freely of men and money in defence of the Commonwealth. Then the day came when India took her place as an Oriental Member of the League of Nations. And then, today, India sees around her the growth of self governing institutions. I don't know about the Phillipines. I am not qualified to express an opinion about them, but in Siam we have seen within the last two months, a bloodless change from an autocratic to a democratic form of government. All of these things have produced in India a strong feeling.

I am not an expert in the sense that Lord Zetland is. He has brilliantly governed one of the provinces of India and has the direct touch and experience. But for a period of two and a half years I was at the apex of this administration of government in India, and my daily thought was about it, and, in my opinion, we shall make a very great mistake if we underrate the extent of the nationalist feeling in India.

Let me mention one or two points as I see it. There is church unity: in the south of India they are bringing about a union of the Christian churches and one of the reasons is because we have got to make the Gospel in India something that doesn't appear to be in conflict with the patriotism of the English people themselves. I hope that you won't misunderstand this. A man who has devoted his life to the teaching of Christianity said this: "You must learn that Christianity is something greater and it won't do to wrap the Bible in the Union Jack." Don't misunderstand it. That struck me as coming from a man who had given a life of service to the cause of Christianity in India. That is one thing.

Then, take the views of the students. They are unanimously on what we call the Indian Nationalist side, or what they call the Indian patriotic side.

Take the case of the women in India—hardly out of their houses in former years—now taking an active public part in the movement of insurgency, picketing in the streets with the men—women who, a few years ago, wouldn't have been seen outside of their own houses. It is a most remarkable demonstration.

A merchant in India told me a most interesting story about this point. You cannot force the sale of British goods. Everyone agrees with that. Whatever you do, you cannot sit on them and conduct commerce with them. This experience was in Cawnpore. A merchant was selling British goods, and mind you, this man was a loyal

British merchant, who was carrying on an immense business in the mills in Cawnpore. He was selling British goods and a woman of caste and education, especially distinguished in that way, came and stood outside of his shop and when the customers would appear, with a little pleading gesture, she would beg them not to go inside and buy British goods. He came out of his shop and said, with much abuse, "You go away. I am conducting business in my own way and I don't want you here." She went away but in half an hour she returned with a half dozen other female members of the family. Within an hour the shop was closed and no more goods were sold. It is a very remarkable story. It was told to me as an example of the force of the Nationalist feeling among the women of India today.

And take the case of Mahatma Gandhi, himself. His influence in India is due to the fact that he is regarded by millions and millions of Indians as the Nationalist voice—not by all—but by millions and millions of Hindus and some Mahommedans. If you want the measure of Gandhi's strength, I don't think that you can take a better example than this recent fast on the question of untouchability. Of all the social institutions in India, the institution of caste is one of the strongest. Here is this slim, slightly-clad Oriental who, through his fast, produced in a few days, a concession on behalf of the untouchables or depressed classes, as they call them, which years and even decades of social reform or endeavour from the top could never have produced. And they say that the concession is far too great. I am not in a position to criticize. I merely mention this. It shows the power that the man has over the masses and the educated and cultured and distinguished classes of his own country. There you have the outstanding example of the growth of self government. There you have, undoubtedly, the convincing proof of the urge for self government inside the country.

How far can we apply the principles of which I have been speaking in the case of the Dominions, to this problem? The Indian case is very different from the Irish case. The Irish problem is undoubtedly immense, but there is the fact that there is in Ireland a large number of Irish voters and in Parliament, apart from the Irish party, there is a political element which is very sympathetic to the Irish claim. In the South African case there has been a war. India is unarmed. In the Irish case there was the flag and the Civil War of 1919 in Ireland had made an unpleasant echo in England. In England, India is regarded as being very distant. England hears comparatively little about her doings.

Furthermore, so far as India is concerned, there are difficulties of a very acute kind. There is the whole problem of defence. There is a great boundary on the north which has to be defended. There is the problem of federation. There is the amazing proposal—illustrating the immense diversity of the British Empire—to federate in one unit, democratic provinces like Bombay or Bengal, together with autocratic states, ruled over by the Indian Princes and you have the immense complexity of seven hundred states in India—a hundred of major importance. There is the question of Indian credit. India needs more capital. The question is, "Where can she obtain it with self government?" And —the most difficult to tackle of all—the acute clash between the Hindus and the Moslem in India.

The point I would like to make is this: that in India, patriotism in itself is a solvent for these very difficulties and if you would agree with me, that it is a free and willing India that alone can make for the greatness of the British Empire and its unity in the world, then you will agree also, that Indian patriotism and Indian unity is a British interest.

Let me apply these one by one. Take the question of defence. Under the late government, and again under this, we have opened the ranks of the army much more widely to the Indians. There is no lack of candidates for that purpose, nor does the history of India show lack of martial leaders.

So far as money is concerned, it is not inconsistent to expect that India, revelling in new freedom, may open sources of wealth, hitherto hidden.

So far as Confederation is concerned, a remarkable statement was made by the Maharajah of Bikaner—a most remarkable statement for an Indian Prince. Speaking in the presence of representatives of both the untouchables and the Mahommedans at the Round Table Conference, he said, "Mr. Prime Minister, remember this: We are Indians first, and Princes afterwards". And the applause from the Indian ranks that followed that statement showed how remarkable was the growth of Indian patriotism, even among those of princely station.

So far as the communal difference is concerned, it is practically impossible for anyone outside to forecast with any certainty what will happen. Women engaged in the great educational work of India have told me, that so far as Indian society is concerned, they know neither Hindu nor Moslem; so far as the labourers are concerned, neither Hindu nor Moslem is known; so far as the students are concerned, the strife between the two religions is very moderate. How far that goes, I do not know. But I should assert, without fear of contradiction, that an Indian patriotism so warm as to melt together the opposing views of the Hindu and the Moslem religions, would be of great service to the British Commonwealth.

Gentlemen, in India, we will, I think—and I assisted in the preparing of documents which are not yet issued as a result of the meeting of the Round Table Conference—be well advised to remember two things: The burden of the responsibility in India must be shifted to Indian shoulders. The difficulty of an external agency in keeping order in a political crisis, the intolerance of it, drives the British people into a place that can not be justified by British traditions. It is an urgent problem, admited by all parties, and it is certainly part of the program that the responsibility should be shifted from the two or three thousand British officials to the broader shoulders of the Indian leaders.

The second thing that the government would be well advised to remember is this: that you must devise a Constitution which will enlist the service of the Indian patriots. It is not sufficient, as in the case of the Irish as I mentioned in 1920, to devise a paper constitution. It is necessary to devise something that will convince the patriotic Indian that here is a road to follow to serve his own country. As for the service that we, as members of the British Commonwealth can reasonably expect, I think that the first service is peace. There is no finer thing — I won't put it higher than common sense.

One thing has struck me—I suppose it would strike anyone coming to this country—and that was my entry to the Dominion this morning. I am told that this is a regular peroration of speeches in Canada—you must forgive me if it is. But I have crossed the boundaries of some sixty-three states, always in the day time and one becomes accustomed to seeing a man with a bayonet on one side, the machine guns and batteries and all the habiliment of war. Here, one crosses the frontier between the two greatest powers in the world, and the first thing I heard this morning—I was hardly wide enough awake to know where I was—was a voice saying, "So you come from home?"

And this is not a theory; it is not a fine spun peroration of a sentimentalist, but the reaction of one who sees Canada growing greater and greater and more prosperous and safer behind a boundary which is without a fort, without a gun, or without a shelter—a monument to the common sense of the people of the British Empire. (Applause).

GREAT BRITAIN—PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS

AN ADDRESS BY SIR WILLIAM CLARK

February 2, 1933

LIEUT.-COLONEL GEORGE A. DREW, the President introduced the speaker.

SIR WILLIAM CLARK: A holiday is a very enjoyable affair, but it is also a real pleasure to be back in Canada once again and once again in Toronto, and I greatly appreciate the honour my friends of the Empire Club have done me in inviting me so promptly after my return to come and talk to them about the impressions I have collected at home. I must not sail under false colours, so I will confess at once, much as it may surprise you, that I did not in fact devote the whole of my four months in England to a searching and systematic study of their economic conditions. Interesting as these things are, a holiday is a holiday, and I dedicated the first few weeks of mine, and I am sure as right-minded men you will approve, to the noble game of golf and to visiting friends. But afterwards in London I had the opportunity of meeting many people with large experience in business and finance and of talking things over with them and with friends in the various Government departments.

I should like, if time availed, to dilate upon the charm of England for the holiday-maker; to celebrate her beauty in the lovely autumn weather which was our general lot; and I will, at any rate, permit myself a brief boast on the memorable fact that during six weeks in London in November and December there was scarcely a day when the sun did not shine, and I only remembered to make a long overdue purchase of a new umbrella on the morning of the day on which we were sailing for Canada. I know no thrill quite like that of returning to England after a long absence overseas, seeing once again the familiar features of her countryside, noting once again her characteristic blending of the present with the past. Where we stayed in Yorkshire, we were near those lovely valleys in which the ruins still stand of the great abbeys built by the Cistercian monks, according to the requirements of their rule, in what were then places desolate and remote from the haunts of man; and yet, when I went over to the Cutlers' Feast, the annual celebration held by the steel-masters, cutlers and other industrialists of Sheffield, an almost infantile institution in comparison, dating back something under 200 years, I only had to travel some forty miles to find myself in the very heart of one of England's greatest industrial areas. One could not but reflect on the changes which are wrought by time and by the irresistible operation of economic forces. In the heyday of their glory five centuries ago those great religious houses were the centre, the focal point of the industry and agriculture of their countryside. Sheffield in those times was only a village like the rest, and the iron-masters of England still smelted their ores with their wood fires in the forests of the Sussex weald. Then coal drew England's major industries to the north between Trent and Tyne, but now once more we are in an era of change. Coal is no longer paramount; there is a southward trend again out of the areas of the industrial north which have felt the brunt of the depression. As you motor along the by-pass which takes you out of London into the Great West Road, a by-pass which did not exist ten years ago, you see on either side rows of new factories, mostly belonging to the newer industries, either working or in process of construction; tempted there by juxtaposition to London and by the transport facilities afforded by these new magnificent highways. This turning to newer industries; this development of new industrial areas;—these are signs of some of the changes wrought by the dislocation of trade and industry during the war. Let me first say a word about this dislocation though it may sound rather a hackneyed subject, for it is not only fundamental to understanding the position in England and its relationship to that in other countries, but I think people are perhaps inclined to under-estimate the extent of its bearing on the larger question of the world situation as a whole.

The historian, looking back over the ten years between the boom of 1920 and the onset of the great slump, will be intrigued first and foremost by the phenomenon, unparalleled in the past, that while other countries, including the defeated Germany, enjoyed varying measures of prosperity, Great Britain alone, one of the principal victors, was plunged in a continuous depression whose intensity varied only in degree from time to time. The explanation, I think, was this: The industries which suffered the greatest derangement as the result of the war, not only in Britain but in all the major industrial countries, were iron and steel, shipping and shipbuilding, textiles and coal. In most of these there had been an expansion out of all proportion to peace-time needs; the coal position was further complicated by the technical development of substitutes; and in the case of textiles, high tariffs had come to protect the nascent industries in what had formerly been market countries. No industrial country could escape the effect of these circumstances, and the reason why Great Britain suffered so much more acutely than the rest was simply that the industries in question played an exceptionally predominant part in her economic system and especially in her export trade. None the less, for other countries the trouble was still there, even though its existence was cnocealed by the superficial trade boom. In the United States, for example, if the textile, bituminous coal, shipbuilding and shipping industries had been concentrated in a single State as in Great Britain they are concentrated in the valley of the Clyde or in Lancashire, that State would have presented a spectacle of depression even greater than that of the British areas named. In most countries for most of the time since 1920 coal-mining has been depressed, shipbuilding has been under-employed, the cotton industry has been working short time, and iron and steel have only been intermittently prosperous under the stimulus of a demand deriving from such extraneous circumstances as large scale public and private borrowing, or the precarious and, as it proved, short-lived expansion of the motor car and other steel-using industries. In fact, as an English economist rather unkindly pointed out the other day, foreign observers, instead of looking down on British industry, might with advantage have looked into it to see what were the forces accounting for this decline. If they had done so, they perhaps would not have been taken so completely by surprise when the depression fell upon their own countries in 1930. As things are, the equilibrium of these great industries, so profoundly disturbed by the war remains unrestored and those other countries are now feeling the full effects of the maladjustment.

In Great Britain some at least of the necessary adjustments had been made during the past ten years of depression, a fact which goes some way towards explaining why the shock of the slump has fallen on her with a less severe impact than on some of her industrial rivals. Especially, there had been a considerable shifting of labour into the newer expanding industries, and it is noticeable that as a result of this the intensification of the slump has not swollen the numbers of the unemployed as seriously as in other countries. You may say that this is a natural consequence of our already having unemployment on so large a scale. That is true as far as it goes, but in the case of Germany and the United States, at any rate, the comparison is really favourable, for in those countries not only is the absolute volume of unemployment today greater, but it also bears a much higher proportion to the industrial population than in Great Britain. Our trade, too, has received a further stimulus from two other sources: in September, 1931, Britain was forced off the gold standard, and about a year ago she adopted a tariff. The Ottawa agreements, which followed on the tariff, were only put into force, as you know, after the autumn sessions of the various parliaments of the Empire, and the reaping of their benefits therefore will come in 1933 rather than in the year which is just over.

Whatever the explanation, there can be no doubt at any rate about the facts. During 1932 Great Britain largely maintained the value of her export trade at a time when the foreign trade of the United States, Germany and France was collapsing. The figures for the year, which have just been published, show that the exports of the United Kingdom decreased by less than 7 per cent as compared with 1931, while those of the United States fell by 33% and in Germany and France the decline for the first ten months of the year was 41 per cent and 37 per cent respectively. Similarly, the indices of industrial production show that the situation is relatively worse in France, Germany and the United States than it is in the United Kingdom: indeed, while the position in those countries has been getting progressively worse, ours has steadied and in the last year slightly improved. Here are a few striking figures. Taking the years 1927-1929 as the base, the index figures for the second quarter of 1931 and the second quarter of 1932 were as follows:—

In France the index fell from 103 to 75; in Germany from 75 to 58; in the United States from 77 to 54; whereas in the United Kingdom there was an actual rise from 75 to 78. More recent figures show that the decline in manufactured production in the third quarter of 1932 as compared with the same period in 1931 was only .6 per cent for the United Kingdom, but in Germany and the United States the decrease in each case was over 22 per cent.

As I said just now, the depreciation of sterling and the change of our fiscal policy have acted as a useful stimulus to our commerce, the one to our export, the other to our domestic trade. The exports of the cotton industry, for example, during last year were larger than those of 1931 by 50 per cent in the case of yarns and 28 per cent in the case of piece goods, thanks to greatly improved demand in Asia, especially in British India, and in Africa. Our production of artificial silk increased from 37 million lbs. in the first nine months of 1931 to 54 million lbs. in 1932 although in other countries, such as the United States, Italy, Germany and Holland there has been a heavy reduction. Last year's exports of anthracite coal, thanks especially to Canada, whose generous buying I gratefully acknowledge, show a substantial increase of 15 per cent. In these times you would hardly expect to see an improvement in the export of motor cars, but in fact the number shipped from the United Kingdom in 1932 (32,000 units) exceeded the shipments of 1931 by 68 per cent. Much of this new business is with European countries other than those which manufacturce themselves. This is not merely the outcome of our exchange advantage; it is a tribute also to the type of car England has made specially her own —the light car which has a small gas consumption and gets off with a low rate of tax, an important consideration now that most countries are raising the level of their licensing duties on automobiles. The home trade has also been reasonably prosperous. Other trades which are doing well, at least by the modest standards which are all we can allow ourselves in these times, are hosiery, heavy chemicals and tin-plates. The tariff, too, has brought us a number of new industrial undertakings which are making rapid progress and are quickly increasing their labour force.

The steel industry cannot hope for a real revival until shipbuilding starts up again, but some of our large concerns are planning well ahead. You may have seen accounts in the press of the launching of an enterprise for the construction of a new steel plant at Corby in Northamptonshire. The object is to manufacture basic Bessemer steel, a type of steel for which Great Britain has hitherto been dependent on foreign sources; and the steel will be used in tube-making works to be erected alongside of the steel plant, the whole being designed to form a complete unit. The cost will be high; something over £3,000,000, but we have the advantage today of cheap money, and the finance is being provided through the Bankers Industrial Development Company, an institution formed under the auspices of the Bank of England especially to help in financing schemes for advancing rationalisation in the basic industries. An important scheme of rationalisation, involving considerable capital outlay, has also been put through for the Lancashire steel industry. Even our railways, battered as they are by the depression and by the competition of the motor car, are refusing to take their troubles lying down. The Southern Railway has just completed a scheme of electrification on one of their main lines which will add Brighton, though more than fifty miles distant from London, to the growing number of suburban dwelling places for the daily worker in the city. The Company is continuing its electrification policy and has raised the necessary capital. In England, of course, as elsewhere there is a plethora of money lying idle, but industrial issues are beginning to be made again and are rapidly absorbed, as they appear, by an investing public which is recovering its confidence.

Now all this shows that there are plenty of bright spots in our situation, but while I would be the last to minimize their very real significance, please believe me when I say that I am not here to boost Britain but to give you, so far as in me lies, a true picture of her progress. The mere fact that we are doing better than other countries though gratifying as far as it goes, at any rate to our national pride, is not enough. We have to face the fact that in the absence of world recovery the long hoped-for general improvement in our industrial situation is still to seek. We are still carrying a burden of 2,800,000 unemployed of whom close on 2,300,000 are wholly unemployed, the balance consisting of those temporarily stopped or persons normally in casual employment. The severity of our direct taxes handicaps the expansion of the newer industries, since the taxes are a large deduction from the profits which they would ordinarily plough back into the business. We have to recognize too that the improvement of our export trade may be resting on a somewhat precarious foundation. We are keeping foreign goods out of our market and exchange depreciation has stimulated the sales of our own, so that Britain has obtained a larger percentage of the world's trade and a more favourable balance in her own, but unhappily the volume of the world's commerce continues to decline, and other countries have had to take further measures to protect their currencies by imposing restrictions on the payment of debts abroad. Thirty-five countries have now imposed such restrictions, with the result that British exporters, who could sell at a profit at the prices they can now secure, are often unable to undertake business offered them because they will be unable to collect payment. We come back as always to the international issue; to the urgent need, urgent in 1931, urgent in 1932, trebly urgent in 1933—the urgent need for a new policy among the nations by which the barriers shall be broken down and the tides of trade permitted to flow untrammelled once again and free. Britain, least of all countries, can detach herself from the rest of the world.

In the meantime, however, let us gratefully acknowledge what has been achieved. Britain faces the New Year with a reasonable confidence. The financial crisis can safely be considered to have passed. The reception of the conversion schemes exceeded all expectation. Thanks to their success, one at least of the burdens on the national exchequer has been appreciably lightened. Thanks to their success, again, cheap money has returned, ready for our industries to draw upon when the moment for expansion comes. Already, as we have seen, advantage is being taken of it for the great steel enterprise of which I spoke a moment ago, and for railway expansion. Provided always that there is no serious setback elsewhere, the omens are good.

I have spoken of the things which are measurable as concrete statistical facts. Let me conclude very briefly with some impression less easy of definition or proof. A Canadian friend of mine, who lectures at Cambridge on psychopathology, a rather formidable sounding subject, has recently published a book on the world crisis examined from the stand-point of the psychologist. For his chapter on Great Britain he takes as his text a talk he had after the war with an eminent American financier who told him that, if facts and figures proved anything, England was too crippled to survive, her trade was gone and her financial supremacy a thing of the past. But, he added, England had been in like straits before and ignoring the logic of facts, had calmly restored her wealth and prestige; he and his firm were going to assume that history would repeat itself and would regard the British character as an asset to be written into the balance sheet over against the obvious liabilities.

That confession of faith will serve me also as a text for what I want to say. It is not going to be a whole-hearted paean in praise of Britain, for indeed there have been periods in the last ten years when the generous confidence of Mr. MacCurdy's American friend may well have been shaken, and I only hope he did not extract himself prematurely from his British commitments.

There have been times when all who cared for England's future may well have felt that she was pursuing policies at variance with the ideals which we associate with the British people, policies apt to impair the ancient fibre, the independent spirit of the race. I thought it evident when I first came here that that opinion was pretty widely held in Canada. And, again, when I went home for the first time two and a half years ago, I seemed to observe a spirit of irresolution, of uncertainty and drift, which was paralysing action. Happily in the last eighteen months there has been abundant evidence that just as drift and irresolution had precipitated the crisis, so the crisis itself had brought out all that is best in the British character. I need not rehearse the familiar sequence of events—the formation of the National Government, the triumphant general election, the eager sacrifices which were made to restore the national finances. I am concerned rather with the spirit in which now, after a year of retrenchment, of putting her house in order, Britain is settling down to the further task of economic and social reintegration.

First and foremost there is a new spirit of confidence abroad. My psycho-pathological friend among other pregnant sayings about our people, remarks that they never permit themselves to be optimists, and you certainly will not find in British business circles today any evident signs of exhilaration; but you would find, after listening to the customary grumbles, a good deal of quiet assurance that, in the sanctified English phrase, "we are worrying through". Next, the period of drift, of waiting for things to improve, is over, and planned concerted action has been and is being taken towards reconstruction. I use the term reconstruction advisedly, because it is now apparent, as I endeavoured to indicate at the beginning of this address, that we are as much in the period of reconstruction today as in the early days after the war, when Whitehall rejoiced in a quite unique, and short-lived, government department bearing that high-sounding name. The financial issue has been dealt with and Britain's credit re-established. We have set up our tariff on the basis of reasonable protection for our own industries and preference for the products of the Empire. The trade returns show that the latter has been effective: the more fruitful proportion of our total import trade derived from Empire countries rose from 29 per cent in the first nine months of 1931 to 35 per cent last year. In conference at Ottawa with the other governments of the Empire we have taken our part in establishing a yet more fruitful economic relationship between the mother country and the Dominions, India and the Colonies, and we shall hope for even better results this year. This relationship does not preclude arrangements with foreign countries, and these are now being discussed with the representatives of a number of countries with whom we have business ties. A systematized endeavour is being made to retrieve the fortunes of British agriculture, a problem which has been discussed with varying degrees of vigour at any time during the last fifty years but without anything very definite now in the middle of the greatest economic crisis of modern times. The plan of a quota for domestic wheat has achieved success beyond expectations; and by a voluntary scheme of restrictions on imports better prices have been secured for meat, better prices from which our overseas suppliers are benefiting as well as the British farmer. In this agricultural policy you have an encouraging example of co-operation between the State and private interests, but there has also been something else, something which to my mind is even more significant. For a time the British people seemed to be drifting into a most un-English dependence on the State: now they are returning to the healthier impulse of individual, or what is better still, community enterprise. I will give you two examples in very different spheres and then I shall have done.

We have in Britain, as indeed every country has today, an acute problem arising from the competition of the motor car with the railways, but perhaps it is more intense in England than in most other countries owing to the small size of the country and the very large amounts, some £60 millions annually, which have recently been spent on the improvement of the roads and their adaptation to modern motor traffic. Something clearly had to be done, the question was what. The Minister of Transport had an inspiration. He invited the Chairman of the four great railway companies to sit in conference with four representatives of the road-using interests, with an independent chairman, Sir Arthur Salter, who was until recently head of the Economic Section of the League of Nations. He asked them to investigate the whole question of transport of goods by road and rail, and make recommendations. Now manifesly it would have been fatally easy, indeed only human, for the representatives of these wholly divergent interests each to insist on their respective standpoints and to pass the buck back to the Government. But the actual report is a model of cooperation. It contains a wealth of information scientifically analysed and coordinated with the expert knowledge of either side. It shows clearly that both parties were ready to make concessions in order to secure agreement in questions of principle; and it concludes with a proposed schedule of licence duties on motor vehicles showing a conspicuous increase over existing rates; indeed as regards the heavier vehicles, the increases are very large indeed. When one reflects that in these times the profits of the road-using companies are probably already not what they were, I think you will agree that the whole transaction is a notable example of the community spirit, both sides recognising that here is a problem which in the public interest ought to be solved, and each ready to meet the other halfway.

My other example concerns the problem of unemployment. Here the first requirement is to provide for the physical needs of the men and their families; to safeguard the genuine unemployed from the extremes of poverty, from lack of food and shelter. For that essential requirement the State has assumed the prime responsibility, but there remains the risk of moral deterioration during long enforced idleness, a very real risk for men of all ages but especially for the young. This question is now being taken up by local community enterprise, guided and stimulated when required by an organisation called the National Council of Social Service which has recently come very much to the fore. The Council have enlisted the ready sympathy of the Prince of Wales, who has closely studied their work and is giving enthusiastic aid to the promotion of their aims. What can be done varies with the circumstances of each locality, but the purpose of the movement can be summed up in two words—"help and self-help". In Sheffield for example, where for some time garden allotments have been provided for the unemployed with marked success, a scheme has now been launched for carrying the same spirit into the provision of centres for handicrafts such as woodwork, cobbling and toy-making; for indoor recreation; and for organised sports and physical training. Some of these have already been opened. The British workman is a handy man and he helps by making benches and other rough furniture and equipment. In other cases manufacturers have lent unused buildings in their works and have given the men the material if they do the work of painting and fitting up, or have provided pieces of waste ground which the men can level for football or other games. The Society of Friends have placed, I understand, some 50,000 to 100,000 men on allotment gardens and are also forming boot-repairing centres and so on. The output of such centres is not sold; the men simply learn to repair their own and their families' boots and shoes, etc. You will see that in all this the principle is self help and the maximum of result for the minimum of cost. The Government have given a contribution for the expenses of the National Council's propaganda work and of course are deeply sympathetic to the movement, but in every other respect, in its initiation, in such success as it may achieve, it looks to local enterprise. Success in any centre depends far less on the amount of money which can be put up than on the willingness of the right people to give service. The movement is new as yet, but I am told by friends in touch with it that it is spreading vigorously.

Yet again, in a number of our cities organised propaganda is being set in motion to induce people to embark on reasonable expenditure which will have a direct and immediate effect on local employment. The Rotary Clubs are playing an important part in this movement. This may sound something of a paradox at the end of a year devoted to national economy, but like other things in this difficult time, economy can be carried too far and it is a mistake to regard it as an end in itself. The building, painting and decorating trade has especially suffered, and very little expenditure undertaken at the right time by individual householders can make a great deal of difference to local employment, especially in the smaller country towns where unemployment is comparatively a new thing. Anyhow I am not at the moment concerned with the economics of the movement, but rather with its social and ethical aspect. It is another example of this awakened spirit of citizenship—the recognition that the community should get busy over its own problems; should try to make things easier and happier for the unemployed within its borders instead of handing the whole business over to the already overburdened State. And is it fanciful to suggest that in these movements there may be the genesis of a better understanding between capital and labour, an understanding which may help to relax and soften the rigidity of temper which has sometimes in Great Britain impeded the adoption of new methods and hampered her in competition with her industrial rivals?

I am afraid I have kept you a long time, but I can sum up and conclude in a very few sentences. Though actual conditions and the state of trade measured in the cold hard light of statistics are of course worse than when I was last in England in the summer of 1930, though the heavier burden of taxation is an inevitably depressing factor, the spirit of the people to my mind and observation is far more confident, far healthier than it was then. The natural self-reliance of the British character is beginning to reassert itself. I have put before you as fairly as I can the indications of improvement which justify a revival of confidence and the qualifications which have to be borne in mind. The most vital of these is the fateful question of the world conditions which still hangs in the balance, and as to that one can only say that great indeed are the responsibilities of those who will represent the leading nations at the Conference which is to assemble a few weeks hence. (Applause).

DOES CANADA TAKE THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS SERIOUSLY?

AN ADDRESS BY PRINCIPAL W. L. GRANT

February 9, 1933

LIEUT.-COLONEL GEORGE A. DREW, the President, introduced the speaker.

PRINCIPAL GRANT: Mr. President and Gentlemen: To address The Empire Club of Toronto and the even larger audience symbolized by the instrument in front of me, is both an honour and a privilege and I thank you very much, Mr. President, for giving me the opportunity to put before this audience one or two views which I have. As you said, I have had but small time to prepare and even in that small time I have had to give most of my time and energy to carrying on my regular work of running the somewhat improved little red schoolhouse up on the hill. Therefore, you will not expect from me anything of the charm of diction, the real felicity of phrasing which was shown by the Honourable Maurice Dupré, the Solicitor General for the Dominion, when he spoke here. I had the pleasure, not only of hearing Mr. Dupré, but of reading after, his speech, and it is one of the admirable speeches which bears the test of being read afterwards, and coming out even better than when one first heard it.

The only thing I would venture to say—and it is a subject on which I wish that I had more time—is that I agree with him on everything except one point, and that was when he endeavoured to grapple with your President (Colonel Drew) on the question of the private sale of heavy armaments. It did seem to me that on that subject , the view put forward by Mr. Dupré could have been fairly easily refuted, not only by your President, but even by myself. I should like in his presence —though it is hard to praise a man in his presence—to thank your President for the very noble stand which he has taken and the very splendid efforts he is making to end that running sore of civilization.

May I take an example for just a moment. Most of us who are older remember the open bar. There are some of us who might criticize, now and then, the system of the government control of the liquor traffic now in use in Ontario, but I do not think, if the people of Ontario were polled that two percent would want the old sale of liquor over the open bar brought back. That, I think we all agree, is gone forever, and well gone. And yet, today, we practically have the sale of munitions over the open bar. Anything which is made by it is a scandal! I can only say that, while the cessation of that scandal would not bring about the millenium, yet, at the same time, it would make a definite improvement in the whole situation of the world and I am perfectly certain that we all take off our hats to your President for the noble way in which, both by the spoken and the written word, he has done what he can to make it cease. (Applause). I can only wish, although I fear it is unlikely to take place, that well as he does his regular work at the Parliament Buildings, my friend, the Premier, would set him free, if he would take leave of absence for six months of a year and devote his time simply to putting before us in Canada and our neighbours in the South, the need for solving this crying question—the need of introducing government control of armaments. But that is not the main subject on which I wish to speak today.

I have chosen the somewhat challenging title of "Does Canada Take The League of Nations Seriously?" and I speak, not like Mr. Dupré, as the member of a Government, not even like Dr. H. F. Munro of Nova Scotia who recently addressed the Canadian Club, as a recent delegate to the League of Nations Assembly. I speak, simply as a Canadian, interested in public questions, to my fellow Canadians, equally interested in public questions. I have never been a representative to Geneva. I have not even been a member of a governmnt or a part of it. I vote regularly, in one sense, but in another I do not—I usually choose a different party at each election. Therefore, I speak as a Canadian to Canadians.

Now, does Canada take the League of Nations seriously? Let me take an example and show you. My fellow Nova Scotian, the Honourable C. H. Cahan, Secretary of State in the Government of Canada—and I am old enough and Victorian enough to think that a man can have no higher honour than to serve in the Cabinet which governs his country—Mr. Cahan is a gentleman about whom different opinions are expressed. He is not popular with everybody but I have not heard anyone express the opinion that he deserves to be disregarded. And those who most disapprove of him do not fail to admit that he is a man of great force of character and great legal ability. Just about two months ago, Mr. Cahan made what seemed to me a very important speech. Here is a speech made by the Secretary of State for Canada and made on, what seemed to me, a very important subject, setting forth with his usual clearness, views which were not those of everybody and nobody seems to have bothered about it. On the 9th of December, the day afterward, there was a very short paragraph in one of the Toronto papers; by the other three it was treated in absolute silence. The only reason I can find is that he was speaking on what is regarded by everyone as a fairly unimportant subject—he was only speaking on the Sino-Japanese dispute. Everybody felt—the audience that he was speaking to—that is was too unimportant and uninteresting to be worthwhile. He was only speaking as the senior Canadian delegate of the special Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva.

Now that speech could easily have been obtained; the League of Nations publishes what we call its Hansard —a verbatim daily record—and when the record came over to Canada, one Canadian paper, an important one, it is true—the Montreal Daily Star—published the speech in full and had an editorial on it. I can find no other paper that mentioned it. In that I am not criticizing the newspapers—God forbid! But if the newspapers fully represent—and they certainly try to represent the people of Canada—if they try to feed the people of Canada with the food they most appreciate, then can we be said to take the League of Nations seriously, when we take the speech of our delegate so very casually indeed?

Now, let me tell you something about it, if I may—the Sino-Japanese situation and the speech that our Canadian delegate, Mr. Cahan, made on it. If one looks at the Sino-Japanese question, purely from the point of view of those two powers and their relations in Manchuria, I do not think that we can fail to have very great sympathy with Japan. The parallel, historically, is very striking (I owe this partly to the Honourable N. W. Rowell) between Japan in Manchuria and Great Britain in India in the last half of the eighteenth and in the nineteenth centuries. Just as India worked through that chartered company, the East India Company, so Japan has worked largely through the Southern Manchuria Railway—a great railway, not running in connection with railway hotels only, as they do here, but running schools, hospitals, and practically governing large sections of country, just the old East India Company used to do in India.

Now, what does Japan want? What does Japan need in Manchuria? To a certain extent she needs protection for her citizens, because while the great portion of the population of Manchuria is Chinese, there are about one million Japanese subjects. There are not so many native-born, not more than a hundred thousand; but there are between eight and nine hundred thousand Koreans, who are Japanese subjects and who have come over into Manchuria. But, more than protection, Japan needs markets for her ever increasing industrialization.

The Government of Manchuria is extremely bad. The government is infested with brigands; they even had their influence over Field Marshall Chang Hsueh-Liang, who carried on a sort of feudal government, and when he had no better soldiers, he took brigands into service, and trouble was constantly arising, now with Nanking, now with Pekin, now with the government of Soviet Russia in Siberia, and especially with the government of Japan. After Field Marshall Chang Hsueh-Liang's somewhat mysterious death in a railway accident, his son, Chang the Second, took over the same thing. This was really a very unsatisfactory situation for Japan. If you want to carry on trade on a large scale, if you want markets for your business, you have to have a more or less orderly country to deal in, and a more or less orderly court of law. Japan found it very hard to get those in Manchuria, and, therefore, when she finally picked a quarrel with China and proceeded to go in and pacify the country and put down brigandage, if it were merely a question as between the two powers, one would have very great sympathy for Japan. As a Canadian, it is perhaps open for me to feel that once Japan had Manchuria thoroughly pacified, there would be very scanty opening for any trade except that of Japan; the market would be strictly for the Japanese and any Canadians attempting to deal there would receive a very cool welcome. But a rigorous attempt was being made to enforce law and order, and this, I think, is essential.

But it is not a question between Japan and China; it is not a question of the enforcement of law and order. It is a question of the way in which law and order is to be enforced. If you take the British parallel of the British in India, I can only say this: this is not the eighteenth century, but the twentieth century. There was no League of Nations in the time of Warren Hastings. It is not a question of Japan and China but a question of her duty to observe her Treaties, especially the great Treaty of the League of Nations. Now, Japan has most flagrantly broken the Nine Power Treaty of Washington; the conduct of Japan with regard to the Kellog-Briand Peace Pact is that she has most flagrantly neglected to observe it; with regard to the League of Nations, she has absolutely and deliberately broken Article 10, supposed to preserve the sanctity of Chinese territory. Moreover, she had promised China not to aggravate the situation while a Commission of the League was investigating the situation, a Commission which Japan had endorsed, and indeed had been one of the proposers of. And even before the report of the Commission had been put before the League, and after Japan had promised China not to aggravate the situtation, she proceeded to set up and recognize the independence of the puppet state of Manchukuo.

The report of the Commission was unanimous. Its members were: The Right Honourable, the Earl of Lytton, representing Great Britain; H. E. Count Aldrovandi, representing Italy; General Henri Claudel, representing France; Major General F. R. McCoy, representing the United States; and H. E. Dr. Heinrich Ochnee, representing Germany. And these five representatives of five great powers sent in an absolutely unanimous report, known as the Lytton Report, asked for by the League with the approval of Japan. And at the debate at the Assembly, this was the argument: it was not a question of Japan enforcing law and order; it was that Treaties, and more especially the Covenant of the League of Nations, must be maintained or world chaos would again be upon us. I could quote passage after passage, from speech after speech, from delegates of country after country, but I think that it was put best by Lord Lytton, himself, in an address which he gave in London on October 19th, 1932, before the Institute of International Affairs. I shall ask you to listen to a quotation. Speaking of the report called the Lytton Report, he said: "Our Report recognizes fully the interests and rights of Japan in Manchuria, but we say to Japan: 'You have tried to secure those interests and to maintain those rights in a way which is inconsistent with your treaty obligations. We cannot accept your way of doing this, but there is a world's way, and if you will accept the world's way, it can still be done.' In this connection I should like to tell you the argument which I addressed to the Foreign Minister of Japan on the subject in our last interview. I said to him: 'You have told us that you have very solid interests in Manchuria; you have historical associations with it; you have fought two wars on its soil; you have ties which bind you indissolubly to the country. You have said to us that Manchuria is the life-line of Japan, and you are very sensitive on this point and resent the idea that anybody else should question the standpoint you take up. We recognize all that. We know of your treaties, we accept what you have told us about your economic interests, we know from history of the wars you have fought, and we respect your sensitiveness on this subject. Will you allow me to tell you that there are some things about which other nations are also sensitive, some things in which they take a pride, some things which they feel as strongly about as you do about Manchuria? There are some States who fought to the very death in the Great War, States that staked and lost everything. You say you have spent a billion yen in Manchuria; well, these States spent much more than that in the Great War and incurred debts which will cripple them for generations. You lost 200,000 lives; these people lost many millions. And they got nothing out of it except one thing. The only thing which these nations have saved from all their sacrifices in the War is their collective machinery for maintaining peace and preventing a repetition of such horrors. They are proud of it and sensitive about it. It is to them a life-line, the life-line of their civilization, and it counts for them as much as

Manchuria counts to you. I ask you, therefore, to remember this. You are up against a very difficult task; do not make it more difficult by flying in the face of world opinion. The world is ready within its peace machinery to reconcile your interests with those of China. You are a member of the League; the League is under an obligation to help you in this crisis; it will do so if you will trust it, if you will submit your case to it, if you will proceed in conformity with its machinery and not against it. That is my request to you.' "

That, then, was the argument that ran all through the special session of the Assembly, not that Japan had not a Treaty right and a moral right in Manchuria, but that she was taking the law into her own hands and flouting the world's way.

Now, Mr. Cahan, in his speech, also repeated this argument strongly. He warned Japan that to fly in the face of the League might have for her the most regrettable consequences, but all through his speech there ran a note of sympathy for Japan, a desire to minimize her offences against the Covenant, and an absolute neglect of the risk her policy runs of bringing her into fierce conflict with the Soviet States, with the United States, and thereby raising a world war. There ran those significant omissions and those significant sentences which made Mr. Cahan's speech more agreeable to the government of Japan and less agreeable to the government of China, than any other speech in the long debate, except that of the Japanese delegate, Matsuoka.

Let me read one extract from Mr. Cahan's speech. As I said, he warned Japan that to fly in the face of the League might result in serious consequences. Here is one extract: "It seems to me that the institution and maintenance by the Chinese Government or with its passive approval of attempts at intimidation against the citizens of any State which is a party to that Treaty, or any attempt by unilateral action to abrogate or diminish the Treaty rights of any other State in or in respect of

China, must be regarded as a grave infringement by China of the existing rights of other States and manifestly provocative of emergency action by such other State for the purpose of protecting such rights. In our law, we affirm as an invariable maxim of good conduct that he who seeks equity must first do equity". When a speech differs so much from that of the prevailing tone of the Assembly surely it is worth more discussion than it has so far had in Canada. And, remember, I am not criticizing Mr. Cahan. Still less, am I criticizing the Prime Minister of Canada who, since that time, on the first day that the House met, more or less endorsed Mr. Cahan's speech. There is a great deal to be said for Mr. Cahan's point of view, but when a Canadian delegate has a point of view differing from any other delegate, except the delegate of Japan, we might, at least, pay more attention to his words than we have done. I think that there is a great deal to be said for Mr. Cahan's point of view.

I feel strongly that Japan must be, shall I say, jollied along, until financial stringency brings to her military men a milder mood.

Remember that Japan is now in the hands of a military gang. Japan, alone, of all the great nations fought comparatively little in the Great War, for which I am not criticizing her. They were our Allies and they did in the most workmanlike way all they had to do. They did comparatively little. They lost not enough to realize what war means. I can not put the present situation better than it was put by Lord Lytton, himself. It certainly seems that the fact that he became head of the Royal Institute of International Affairs is a most significant thing. He was asked about the so-called Liberal opinion in Japan, which, I need hardly say, has no reference to Canadian party politics. Lord Lytton said: "With regard to giving support to Liberal opinion in Japan, at the moment Liberal opinion was completely suppressed by a terrorist movement. Liberal politicians had either left the country or were under police protection. It was quite impossible for them to say anything in defence of their point of view except at the risk of their lives." When you get a country in that state there is a great deal to be said for what I call 'jollying her along' until her financial interests teach the military men that what they are doing does not pay.

What might happen if the League took too strong a point of view with Japan? I will tell you what might happen. We might wake up some day and find in the newspapers, not a speech of Mr. Cahan's, but the news that Hong Kong, Singapore and the Phillipine Islands, the three great naval bases of the United States and Great Britain in the Orient, had been seized over night by Japan and that Great Britain had a first class war on her hands, and all the small states, Czechoslovakia, Denmark and Guatemala, now so loud in their demands for the sanctity of the Covenant, would be quite unable to help and Great Britain would be left with a war on her hands and with her naval bases gone; at most with the United States as her ally, Honolulu her nearest base, and the other nations growing rich on the sale of munitions. I do not think that this is likely to happen but the thought that it might happen is agonizing every foreign office in Europe and the thought that it was possible might well have been in Mr. Cahan's mind when he spoke, and in that of the Prime Minister when he justified his speech. The fact is that Mr. Cahan took a more pro-Japanese position than the representative of any other power except Japan. Perhaps I should not say a more pro-Japanese position, but a less pro-League position. This is one instance of how seriously Canada takes the League of Nations and it seems important enough to merit attention.

Let me take another point on which I wrote six weeks ago in Saturday Night. It is just possible that some of you may not have seen the article, and it is possible that having seen it, you did not read it. You will pardon me if I repeat one or two things that I said there. Canada started off splendidly in connection with the League of

Nations. The head of our first delegation, the Honourable N. W. Rowell, set such a mark, that when I was in Geneva in 1930, I saw no one who did not speak still of the impression he had made. The first Treasurer, Sir Herbert Ames, did much when the League had hard sledding with its finances. Senator Dandurand was appointed for some years in succession by the Liberal Government and he did much through his perfect knowledge of the two tongues of French and English to spread the Canadian point of view among the representatives of Europe. That knowledge has done something to bring together representatives of those two great powers, the British and the French. He was worthily rewarded by being made for one year, President of the Assembly—a position which he filled admirably. And right along, we have appointed excellent delegates. Mr. MacKenzie King, as Prime Minister, went once. The first delegate of the newly elected Canadian government in 1930 was Sir Robert Borden whom every Canadian, I think, names with honour. We have always appointed excellent delegates but there has been a tendency, in spite of the rather good record of the Canadian Government with Senator Dandurand, to lack continuity. Mr. Rowell went once; Sir Robert Borden went once; Mr. Hugh Guthrie went once; and Mr. Cahan went once. And if you turn to the women representatives, take eminent women like Miss Agnes MacPhail, or Mrs. Plumptre of this city—each went once. The difficulty is that at Geneva you don't have an abstract to deal with. You have a lot of men and women and you have to make what in business are called 'contacts'. This can not be done in one brief visit; you have to go again and again and make contacts strong and intimate. League Assemblies do not consist of a number of amiable gentlemen disseminating peace. The League Council consists of statesmen, skilled men, with a civil service inferior to none, and you must have, to deal with that, a delegation, one member of which knows them personally, and knows their problems. You cannot send first one man and then another, if you are going to have that personal contact.

And take another point in connection with that, which I need hardly stress before the Empire Club: if there is one thing the Canadian delegation must do, it must be to keep in very close and intimate touch with the British delegation. It is a fairly open secret, owing to the fact that our delegates are going over in this way, without continuity, that consultations are not quite as intimate as they began by being under Mr. Rowell and others.

What do other powers do? France always has a permanent delegate at the special Assembly. When Mr. Paul Boncour arose to speak, he spoke of the great privilege his country had given him in making him a permanent member of the League, in succession to Briand. In England, Lord Cecil of Chelwood is invariably a delegate to the League, and so that intricate weaving of national and international which must be watched so closely at Geneva is ever watched by Lord Cecil, as it was watched in France by Mr. Briand, and now by his successor, Mr. Boncour. It can not be watched by a man hurriedly briefed. I feel so strongly on this point that, speaking at Windsor recently, I let off some fire-works, and was naturally, very promptly rebuked. If what I said hurt any feelings, I am sorry. No one wishes to hurt anyone's feelings, but, frankly, I do not regret any word I said, because I think that I did something to bring this very important question before my fellow citizens, and if to do that it is necessary to hurt my own or anyone else's feelings, I am willing to do it.

Someone says, "Perhaps you have proved that we do not take the League seriously. Why should we? It is a very dull body and very uninteresting. It is a recent creation; its roots are very shallow; it seems to run contrary to the instincts of human nature; it has made more than one failure. Why should we take it seriously?" That is a subject on which I could speak for hours, but I shall content myself with one reason and I shall make it personal and I shall make it brief.

The first job I ever had by which I made my living when I left Oxford University was as a master at Upper Canada College. I taught there for four years, and then I went off at another job for fifteen years and then I came back as the Principal. When I look at the names on the scholarship roll of the boys that I taught in that first period—when I look at the names of the boys who were on the football teams I coached, or the hockey teams I watched—there are very sad gaps. They are the boys who, in their prime, died in France or Belgium. When I look at our Honour Board, with over a hundred and seventy names on it, and when I try to count up the male children—the sons whom those one hundred and seventy-five have left—I find that they have left about fifteen sons. Just the men who should have been the fathers of the next generation, their sons they gave—their immortality.

We talk now about the financial stringency which is on us. We talk about the world chaos and about the cracks that seem to be appearing in our civilization. We wonder if we shall pull through and where are ever so many of the men who should be here in their prime, helping Canada, helping Great Britain, helping the Empire, helping the world to pull through? Where are they? And now that I am again teaching at Upper Canada College, I do not wish to train another generation to share the same fate. And the League of Nations, imperfect though it is, shallow rooted though it yet is, is the only, the best defence which we have against another world war. And that is the unpardonable sin of Japan in this crisis and that is why the praise which Mr. Cahan has given to Japan needs some justifying.

Let us criticize the League as much as we will. It must grow in an atmosphere of criticism; the more criticism we give it, the better. But let us never take it lightly; let us never take it other than seriously. If you think of taking it other than seriously look first in the faces of your children. (Applause.)

THE RIDDLE OF THE DEPRESSION

AN ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR STEPHEN LEACOCK

February 16, 1933

LIEUT.-COLONEL GEORGE A. DREW, President, introduced the speaker.

PROFESSOR LEACOCK: Colonel Drew, Members of the Club: When I look around at this gathering and understand that there are more in the background and still more on the air, I wonder that I made it six and not five days. Six is the figure it will take in Montreal—the time is short; in the words of an ancient sun dial, "it may be later than you think". And it is not by an easy optimism that we shall consider our present difficulties but by looking them squarely in the face and fighting against them, because we have got to say 'Goodby' to that conspiracy of hope which was our first line of defence against adversity and which is now broken through. It is no good, Mr. Chairman, to say that things are getting better. They are not. It might be that if we left this depression alone it would cure itself with tears, with hunger, with suffering. It might wear itself out as others depressions have done, or it might not. And if I recommend to you remedies which seem to carry losses and sacrifices, they are only meant as the remedies of a national emergency to which we have resort when other things have failed. And so I take my stand from the point that this is a dangerous moment; this is a crisis. The time has come to think. The time has come to act.

What we are seeing around us, Gentlemen, has never been paralleled in the world before. There is no use of our talking of the depressions of the seventies or the nineties. They were never like this. This depression is more world-wide, more class-wide, more universal, and it is eating into society as a plague eats into a living body, or as a fire eats into a living city. So you must fight it as you would a plague or a fire and you must not count the cost. You have got, from now on, to do something! I wouldn't be here if I did not think it were possible to do something. If I magnify the danger on one hand, I magnify the resistance on the other. The depression must be conquered, and when I say that it should be relieved in six days, I mean it. I will have it relieved before we end lunch. (Laughter.) Why, Colonel Drew, with such an audience as this, who couldn't relieve a depression? With the men I see around this table, with the records they, themselves, have in peace and in war, the service they have already given to their country, why, Sir, we could pick up the depression and carry it away with us if we only would try. I want to show you how, in my opinion, we can relieve the depression in a few days and how we can, almost within six months, remove it, and what is a much more difficult task, eradicate it and prevent its recurrence. This will take years. In that, perhaps, you are less interested as citizens of the moment, but if you look toward the future, this is the supreme task——how to eradicate it—because that would involve the removal of the fundamental causes of what is around us.

When you ask the ordinary person what has caused the depression, you get a great number of answers. In the current press and in the current speech, you read and hear, perhaps, that it is caused by the gold standard, by the currency, by the collapse of the monetary system. I don't think so. Some people say that MacKenzie King did it. (Laughter.) Sir, I am a stout Conservative, but I do not believe that it is among the sins for which MacKenzie King will some day have to answer. No single person, Liberal or Conservative, caused it. No currency, no tariffs caused it; not even national exclusiveness, the sin of our time, caused it. There is a peculiar flaw in the mechanism of the life we live; there is a peculiar defect in our wonderful apparatus of production; there is; there is a peculiar power in our sudden inheritance of how to produce goods without a corresponding knowledge of how to organize society to use it. Sir, there would have been a depression if you had had world free trade; there would have been a depression if we had had no war; there would have been a depression if we had had a universal gold standard; and there would have been a depression even if we had had universal goodwill. Those things have not caused it.

There is a man abroad, called the Technocrat, many of whose speeches and sayings are foolish in the extreme. He has made what he calls "an energy survey of the world"—mostly seen from Greenwich villages and the speakeasies. (Laughter.) The Technocrat has told us all kinds of silly things about abandoning our customary standard of values and substituting the scientific standard which is usually measured by an "erg" or an "umph". But like many false prophets, they may be showing the way to the true believer, and along side of the question of the power of humanity to produce and the capacity of humanity to organize lies the fundamental problem of our present organization and along that line will be found the ultimate solution some day. But what we have to think about more immediately is the solution for now; how to get things going now; how to beg a reprieve from the sentence of industrial death under which we stand; how to ask for the time, so valuable now, so despised a few years ago, to set our house in order. We see the "Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharson"; the time is advancing on us now and we must look first to the immediate measures, and hope that afterward we may be spared some time for the fundamental resinewing of society which alone can make the permanent cure of all depressions.

Now, Sir turn your mind back and look over history. You know, professors invite you to look back into history and they never come to the surface again. The typical professor, Dr. Cody—no, not "the typical professor Dr. Cody"; I said, "The typical professor, comma, Dr. Cody," (Laughter)—if you ask him to explain something, takes a deep dive underneath the waters of history and never comes up. You don't wait to see him emerge, but I propose a shorter restrospect than that. I only want to ask you in the very broadest way to look back a hundred years, if some of you can remember that long. Look back over a hundred years of our system. They call it now "the profit system". It's an awful thing. It is not the p-r-o-f-i-t-s system—I saw some of you prick up your ears when I said "profit"—I don't mean that. It is the profit system that has had a number of ugly words used for it—the system we have used ever since we came out of the Garden of Eden. After all, what do they mean?—that every man works for himself, that the economic interests of the individual is the basis of society; that you and I work first and foremost for ourselves and those near and dear to us and not for someone else's grandma is, and will continue to be the system—I take it and stand on it. I tell you that no other system has worked to knock out unfairness, modified if you like, to shorten the power of those who have too much. Fundamentally, my property is mine, my work is mine, and the fruits of my work, the result of the efforts of my brain and my industry—that is mine and there is no other system of running society and there never will be—none, none, none! (Applause.)

What, Mr. Chairman, are the alternatives? Socialism? What do you mean by that? It is the government of impossible people by impossible leaders. It is an iridescent soap bubble floating in the air—a soap bubble of the good wishes of transcendental human beings governing other good, transcendental human beings. That is Socialism. And take it, if you like. We have a large party gathering now. I don't want to talk politics and I mustn't name them, because I never can quite remember their name. (Laughter.) It is called the Co-Operative-something, and if there are any members here, remember that it is not your particular co-operative, but all co-operatives, and as I understand that new movement, all kinds of people—farmers, householders, lawyers, clerks and intellectuals—are all coming into it, but each one has the idea that he is going to socialize the other—not himself!

There are farmers in this movement. Do they mean to socialize their farms? Are they going to give over the management of their fifty acres in York Township to a pack of bosses sitting with their feet on the table and collecting their money as they do in Russia? Not on your life—they will drop dead in the furrows first. And then there are the householders. Do they mean that they will turn over their houses to a group of bosses to assign away their rooms to this one and that? No, they would die first! Then there are the young fellows—the bright intellectuals in your colleges and mine who are joining this new movement, and they own nothing except the pants they wear. (Laughter.) Are they going to socialize their pants?

So, leave all that out. When I talk social reconstruction I do not mean those wild dreams, those foolish ideas, admirable in theory though they may be, which are the iridescent extremes of socialism. Nor, do I mean, what is worse, that hideous thing which we know today—that cup of blood pressed to the lips of the Russian people, that crown of thorns being crushed to the heads of a suffering people. No, we do not want that. Then, wake up and we will do something first and I will show you how.

Our social system has worked and it is the only one that ever would work. With all its faults, its tryannies, and its shortcomings, it has worked. It reached in the nineteenth century, the age of machinery, and production became wonderfully easy. Then it began to develop a strong tendency not only to work but to overwork. Beginning with a hundred years ago we had that alternation of crises; we had the speeding up of work and the accumulation of products. At the time even the wisest people did not read the writing on the wall. The Adam Smiths and the John Stuart Mills and all the rest of them were so engrossed in the total of production being attained and in the possibilities of the power that man wielded, that they never saw that it carried with it the strange dislocation of the machine—that the machine would rush fast and then break. Looking back—retrospect—is easy. We can see that within every ten years or so the machine did break. There came a time when work stopped; there was too much goods, and the poor suffered. It is a sad and pathetic fact that we paid so little attention to those depressions because they hit, mainly, the poor. It is only when they begin to hit the rich that we feel that they cannot go on.

Notice the flaw about it. We had the time when too much was produced and then, by the sheer lowering of wages, the forcing of people to work longer hours under harder working conditions, we slowly crawled back. There is no remedy in lowered wages. You must look to something else than that. The ultimate result is only accelerated death. The remedy of the Massacre of Peterloo of 1819, or the remedy used in saving Germany a hundred years ago are here to use if we want to use them. Those having political power could use that. But we must find some other method than that. Those depressions went on. Each was worse than the last—still, luckily, confined mainly to the working class, and mainly to one or two or three countries and still always relieved automatically by the recurrence of prosperity.

Then, came the circumstance of the War and every precipitating cause was multiplied tenfold. The War brought those things which caused the eventual crisis, but it was only the speeding up of the mechanism already started. Currency alone did not do it but the breaking down of the world currency led to accentuation of it. The word 'tariff' alone, the exclusion of foreign goods wouldn't do it. But it helped to make it worse. The national exclusiveness, the shutting out of immigrants, would not do it, but it helped to make it worse. And then the high power production speed of the War finished—it ran out—its momentum ceased and precipitated us in the crisis we have now. What we are witnessing now is actually the logical economic outcome of the circumstances of the War which for the moment speeded up production, absorbing everything that could be made. There was a market for everything that could be produced and we were hurled headlong over the abyss of over-plenty.

If we could look down from above, like the gods, what a commentary we could have of our high flown race! Shipwrecked in sight of port! Human beings starving when we have the mechanism to produce everything the world could dream of—and we cannot learn to use it! Let us see if it is possible, painfully and with difficulty to drag us out—and I think it is. Notice what happened in all the other crises. There came presently, an accidental rise of prices and that brought an accidental increase of business and each increase stimulated every other, just as, now, every decrease accentuates every other; and just as, now, every man out of work throws out those who have been accustomed to supplying him with goods. So the opposite process can be set up in which, with a rise of prices for the moment, everybody who produces and sells is a little better off. Therefore, I am one of the many thousands of people who call themselves economists, and who say that the first temporary remedy is to set up a rise of prices. At once you shudder at the thought of inflation of paper money and you think of the wild and reckless disorder the world has seen through the over issue of paper money. I admit it. We have all been brought up to know something of the history of that, to know something of the disaster it has brought.

But can we not operate a rise of prices without inflation—inflation being a dangerous use of paper money, uncheckable and uncontrollable? Can we not operate a rise in prices? I think that we can. But notice that the effect is temporary only. It will be a rise in prices to a certain degree that will act like the first draught of cordial to a dying person—it will be the beginning of something that will mean health and we can do that. In a word, I propose that we change our dollar, and here we drop into the depths of real economics, from the 23 grains of gold it has now dropped to 17 grains. That sounds as simple as a druggist's prescription, doesn't it? But a druggist's prescription sometimes means the path that leads from death to life and health. If you will change the American and the Canadian dollar at the same time—luckily for us, the same scheme is recommended there—from 23 grains to 17 grains—just that. The government could issue paper money and they may, if they like, coin some. People like to see the visible signs of what they think. We are not all professors who deal in abstracts, so we coin some. The effect would be immediate. I am only afraid that there might be too rapid a rise in prices because the moment you tell anybody who has a stock of anything that the monetary standard is going to shift and the price is going up, he will be keen to buy anything he can. If you change the dollar, therefore, to alter automatically, the price scale, there would be a great rush to buy things which would clear off the accumulated stocks.

But notice that this is temporary, only. If that were all the prices would come back and we would be back where we were. The rise in prices would clear off accumulated stocks in every business. But salaries and wages would lag behind. If you go to the worker and say, "I am going to cut your wages by one-half or one-quarter", then he would be up in arms. But does he know that when prices go up, his salary or wage is automatically cut? No. We witnessed in the War the rise of prices from three to one, and yet we had social harmony. It is possible to have painless increase. See how easy it is.

We are a gold producing country. We produce, annually, $60,000,000 of gold, in terms of our 23 grain dollars—$80,000,000 in terms of the new dollar. The $80,000,000 could be used for paper money. The three for one is a safe percentage; one third goes to pay the miners and the rest is issued by the government as paper money—and paper money, redeemable cent for cent and dollar for dollar—and redeemable, not as now—you carry around your Canadian money—try to redeem it! You can't! I am not proposing inflation. I say redeemable money and I mean redeemable, down to the last cent.

You have heard of Old Mother Hubbard who went to the cupboard, to get her poor dog a bone, and when she got there the cupboard was bare, and so, very reasonably, the poor dog got none. We might say that Old Mother Hubbard went to the cupboard to get her poor dog a bone, but when she got there she found only the reserve of bones and therefore she didn't give any to the dog! That is our Canadian system.

Now, you would tell me, because some of you know this ground as well as I do, that that change would affect our international relations—that every country that has a contract to pay interest in American dollars would be that much worse off by the shrinkage of the Canadian dollar and the automatic rise of the American premium. That is right. It would be unless the United States does the same thing with us at the same time. If they don't, and the American premium humps, I tell you here, candidly, we have to part company with the payment of our interest in the terms of foreign currency. Our Constitution knows no such legal limitations as might happen the United States. We have the supreme authority and when the contract was made in terms of American dollars there was the underlying meaning that every Canadian dollar bill was cashable in gold—that every Canadian obligation was cashable in gold. Who would have made the fool contract with New York unless it was understood that the contract was payable in gold in Canada? We have to cut loose from this strangulation string that we alone must pay in the money for another country. England has already done it. In England a law was passed 115 years ago—it was passed in 1816 and it said that a sovereign is 113 grains of pure gold and the public debt is payable in sovereigns of 113 grains of pure gold. And in October 1931, the English government said, "We can't pay in sovereigns, we will pay in English paper money for what it is worth and every American holder and every foreign holder of the English debt lost one-quarter of his money; it was not because the English wanted him to lose it but from the extreme necessity of the occasion, we have got to come to that unless the Americans, as I hope and pray they will, will join us in the 17 grain dollar that will make the rise in prices of which I speak.

But even if you had that quickened prosperity, that would not be enough in itself. You would have to have something that would bring about, not in the course of weeks, but months, a real revival of business. I think that that is possible. We could take advantage of the first stimulus from the cheapened dollar to make a real increase in rural and urban business. And in this, I have the honour of sharing the views of Franklin Roosevelt—and I can express for you here, how glad we all are that that dastardly and brutal attempt on the life of the President of the United States was unsuccessful. (Applause.) I hope that that good man will be spared to carry out some of those magnificent schemes he is proposing for the carrying out of a vast program of public works in the interests of the working classes of the United States. And I understand that the government is going on this plan: when the work is carried out, it will be self supporting—self-liquidating, as they call it. The Americans like words. Self-liquidating—that word, Dr. Cody, we wouldn't have dared to use as undergraduates, yet the meaning is clear—something that pays its way as it goes.

And I think that we in Canada could adopt a plan for a program of public works that would pay their way as they go. I will take only one example: Suppose that the government were to take over the rebuilding of the cities—not of the beautiful parts like this, which need no rebuilding, but the slum areas, the forgotten districts, the lost, waste places of the city which often should have been the best and now are the worst. They command the lowest value where they should command the highest.

I think of my own ctiy of Montreal; it is a more conspicuous example, by far, than your "Town" of Toronto. (Laughter.) I am afraid that these haughty little superiorities will out! Did I call you a town? Why not? It's a better word. We are too apt to use the high sounding words. I well remember when my own College of McGill got the notion that it had to call itself a University. So if I call you a town, it is a word of praise. You are a town! But never mind that. We have in Montreal a great part of the city in which the real estate is of no value—it is not one bit of good without the rest of the city. Let us imagine—the cities have the power extended (sometimes they have too much or all the power) to take a quarter of a mile of that slum area and expropriate it at honest prices—nothing crooked about it. The buildings would be demolished and offered for sale. That is only capitalizing on the expropriating power of the city. The value is there but nobody can touch it. Only the city could expropriate this property; it is not interfering with private enterprise. It could not be carried out by an individual; one recalcitrant seller would prevent the carrying on of the plan. Like Ali Baba at the opening of the treasure cave, the city has the "Open sesame". No one else can touch it. The city can wipe out all this slum district—the old rookeries and crookeries—turn it into expropriated property and say to the individuals: "Come on and buy it." The city can make the contracts for expropriation and the demolishing of the building, and resell every one of them before they spend a dollar except for the clerical expenses in connection with the contracts. And if you had a chance to rebuild half a square mile of this district in Montreal, you would be converting this property which should have been of wonderful value, into what God meant it to be—and there is profit in it. And you invoke, as you should invoke everywhere in social things, the principle of private gain and private advantage. That is the mainspring of our life—as natural as the air we breathe and the circulation of the blood in our veins. We are all out for ourselves. Our race has grown on that.

In this way a market is created for the real estate of the great cities; the contractors are busy and there are calls for thousands of men—the kind of thing we haven't seen since the war. There would be bread and work for everybody—and there would be bread and work and hope for the speculator and the stock exchanges would be busy all day. Did I ever say a word against the stock exchanges? I take it back! I want to hear that ticker busy—busy all day. If we do start that kind of public work we could deal with the international question. We can't now; when immigrants are excluded and everyone wants to sell and no one wants to buy, you cannot make international contracts.

But picture Canada busy with construction work in which supplies are needed and labour is wanted and we can make those international contracts which are essential for ideal trade between the nations. We can start again that flood tide of immigration that was and is and has to be the fundamental basis of the prosperity of this country. All those things are not only possible, we are standing on the brink of the possibility of it. We are here in our dark hour, but it is only just before the daylight if we but wake up to welcome it, the daylight is bound to come.

But if we had all that, Colonel Drew, the question still remains—"would the depression come back?" Yes, the threat of depression, like the spectre behind one's sins, like the evil memory of a wicked life, would come back. It would haunt civilization still because, fast though we go, it is inevitable that that super power would break us down some day. But we shall have a respite of eight or ten years, perhaps, more, to set our house in order and it is a warning that the humblest can read. We must set it in order because there will never, never, never, be another depression after this one that would pass away of itself. This one, we trust, will go anyway—I hope so though we are not sure—but the next one, NO. After this one we are under irrevocable sentence of industrial death. There are forces at work that we cannot control—a mechanism that we can not adjust if we leave things alone, but we will have for that task a respite of perhaps a generation and in that time we will look forward to finding a means by which the production of goods and their consumption can be harmonized—not by the fool remedies of Socialism or the brute remedy of Communism, but by introducing new rules to the game. Every British people today is under rules and understandings and gentlemen's agreements and therefore we have modified individualism in a hundred different ways. We have modified the rights of property; we have modified the hours of labour; we have modified the terms of contracts in a hundred ways and we can go further still as long as we know the goal to which we are reaching and the goal is that we will come out some day into an industrial commonwealth where we don't work as hard as we do now—where the ordinary day of toil is over as easily as the labour of a university President. (Laughter.) No, I won't say that, but I will explain its attractiveness by saying that every one will be doing a life work and never know he is working—just as Dr. Cody doesn't know he is working. We can imagine a commonwealth in which, as Julian Huxley says, two hours a day is enough for everybody to work.

The Technocrat is right. We work too much and we work too long. We even invent new things to work at. We don't need to do that. But life will come out somewhere. Some of you will be alive to see it on a more harmonious basis in which this dissatisfaction and want will be beaten and killed. Humanity is not licked yet. When I look around at this group of human beings, I feel that we in Canada with the heritage that we have, can face this kind of task and we can win out and conquer it and achieve, not only the cure of this depression but the fundamental cure that will bring us to the real welfare of human society.

I will say one word more—it is a little out of my line, but I will say it. If we want to do that we will have to spread abroad a spirit—I won't say of religion but a spirit of purpose—that high animating spirit that marked the wartime; that record of devotion that many men here carry to their honour to the rest of their lives—you have to bring that to the path of peace. You will have to put in this new problem the same resolute earnestness and forgetfulness of self that showed so conspicuously in our British people in the days of the War. If you get that spirit of animation and religion to guide us, Gentlemen, the depression is over right now. (Applause.)

MAN-MADE REMEDIES FOR A MAN-MADE DEPRESSION

AN ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR GILBERT JACKSON

February 23, 1933

LIEUT.-COLONEL GEORGE A. DREW, the President, introduced the speaker.

PROFESSOR JACKSON: Colonel Drew and Gentlemen of the Empire Club—I hope it will not seem ungracious on my part if I begin by correcting an all too flattering account of your humble servant, which appeared in the printed notice of this meeting. I am *not* the head of the Department of Political Economy in the University of Toronto. When I came here in 1911, I was the *fourth* senior member of the Department. Now, after twenty-one years here, I am the *third* senior. The real difference between the present and 1911 is that then I was the junior in a small Department; now there are thirteen economists in the Department junior to myself. Professor Urwick is at the head of the Department: and I hope he will long remain there.

As one sits in one's chair of Political Economy at the University of Toronto, one sometimes receives queer visitors. A few years ago, there came a stranger to me who said, "I hear that you are an expert on banking". I replied, "Sir, I am not an expert on banking. I am only a lecturer on banking, which is a very different thing". He said, "Well, *you* are a lecturer on banking and *I* am an expert on banking. Shake!" So we shook.

He told me that this country suffered from a very faulty banking system. I agreed that wherever we could find possibilities of improvement we should improve it. *He* said that our banking system had two main faults, and that it was *our* proper life-work, his and mine, to correct these faults. I asked him what they were. He said it was a damned shame that our banks were allowed to take deposits and issue notes: and that if they could be prevented from taking deposits and issuing notes, all would be well in Canada.

(I notice that while the banks are still taking deposits and issuing notes, there are smaller deposits and fewer notes in circulation now, than there were when my visitor called. But I cannot see that the position of the country has improved.)

Only the other day, I had an encounter with a perfect stranger, who told me that tobacco was at the bottom of the depression. He said that sixty per cent of the children of smoking mothers died in the first two years of life. He wanted to stop everyone from smoking who was born later than 1917. I was obliged to reply to him that, whereas if his statement were true, women who smoked in this world ought obviously to burn in the next, I could not accept his statistics. Moreover, while over-indulgence in tobacco certainly poisons the system, so too does over-indulgence in roast beef.

Another man wrote to me from Kingston one April. He said (on a post card), "Sir, I shall be glad if you will tell me what will be the condition of business in Kingston, Ontario, next September, as I have a dry goods business and I want to know if I can safely leave it, to come to Toronto for the Exhibition". This last enquirer shewed a touching faith in economists, which is not universally shared. Indeed, I have heard some people compain that we have had four years of depression already, and the public is still waiting for the economists to do something about it.

There is something in this criticism—but, let us add, not very much. For in Canada, the time has not yet arrived when the economists have been given a chance to *do* anything about the depression—except to go on studying it. Indeed, certain people are not even sure whether they approve of economists *studying* the depression; because every now and then some economist brings to light and publishes very disconcerting facts about it. Personally, I take the view that we need the whole of the truth about the depression; or as much of it as we can get. I believe there is no more important task at present than that of mapping out the situation, for it is only as we succeed in mapping it out that we can understand it.

There is, as it happens, one country where economists *have* had their innings—where they have really been asked to *do* something—and that is Australia. Here in Canada, the depression developed its full force very slowly. *We* were deep in it in Canada, before we realized our problems. By comparison, it hit Australia like a cyclone. All the brains of Australia had to be mobilised—even the brains of economists. A committee was appointed in 1931, called the Copeland Committee. It worked out a programme in detail, based upon the two central problems of sterling exchange rates and internal costs of production. Its programme is substantially the programme that has been carried out by the federal government and the central bank in Australia—and it is interesting to note to-day that Australia is one of the very few countries that does already show definite signs of emergence from the depression. In that respect, Australia stands in sharp contrast with the two great countries on this continent.

In my tentative, blundering way, sometimes I wonder whether in Canada the government of the day—whichever party might happen to be in power at Ottawa—would not be well advised to have at its disposal a committee of economists—not a committee to tell the government what to do—not a committee to frame a policy—but a committee which might be summoned from time to time to hear (in confidence, of course) the plans of the government. Such a committee, having listened, would not say, "The government is all right"—or, "The government is all wrong": but it might perhaps reply to the government of the day—"Gentlemen, you propose to do so and so. The consequences of such action are likely to be thus and thus. If you want to produce these consequences, you had better execute these plans: but if you do *not* want these consequences, you had better change your plans".

I make bold to say that most policies, of most governments, are carried out to-day without the remotest conception on the part of those who frame these policies, as to what their ultimate consequences will be. That is why, when they go to the polls, political parties are alternately stricken with disaster. Yet it is often possible to trace with considerable precision the consequences of a policy. What we find necessary before acting in our private affairs is surely just as necessary, where public affairs are concerned.

This notion that an economists' committee might render good service is by no means altogether fantastic. Economists, as a class, are not interested in making money. Like most scientific men, they care most for knowledge. They can keep secrets. There is abundant evidence of this. And they have, as a class, little interest, or none, in party politics. It is true that the distinguished economist from Montreal who spoke here last week proclaimed himself a stout Conservavtive: but that is an isolated exception. In this, as in other respects, Dr. Leacock is unique. I say without hesitation that except for him, I cannot recall a single Canadian economist in my circle of acquaintance, who has any partisan affiliations.

In any case, there is no such committee to-day. There is little Likelihood that any Canadian government will create such a committee—still less, that it would be given serious attention. And meanwhile, here am I, charged with the task of discussing before you, "Man-Made Remedies for a Man-Made Depression". It is not the kind of task to make a man dogmatic. Before the tremendous forces that have produced, and are prolonging the depression, any man of sense is likely to speak with humility.

What should be the first fruits of such humility? I suggest to you, first of all, as a duty, that we should be prepared to listen to the results of *any* sincere thinking, conducted in any quarter. One man believes that our great need is balanced budgets. Another believes in greater government expenditure—in bigger and better deficits. One believes in more tariffs. Another believes in the destruction of existing tariffs. One believes in a shorter working week. Another believes in harder work for less pay. One believes in reducing the gold content of the dollar. Another believes that we should altogther divorce ourselves from gold. One believes there should be less government in business. Another believes in socialism.

I say that *all* of these men should be given a hearing. All that we have the right to require of them is readiness to face facts, and sincerity. We harm ourselves, and we harm Canada, when we try to laugh them out of court. We harm ourselves and we harm Canada, when we decry their proposals as radicalism. In particular, when we take a reactionary stand ourselves and describe as a Red anyone that does not agree with ourselves, we help to stampede our neighbours into real radicalism.

But though we should give a hearing to the results of all sincere thought, no matter who the thinker may be, we should be very critical of these proposals. Each of them so far has appealed only to a group. None has commanded general assent. But each has been accepted by the group that now supports it, with uncritical readiness.

We should be very critical. Personally, I regret the general assumption, which underlies most of these remedies, that what we need is some *trick of economic adjustment*—for that is what each of these proposals is, in reality. For underneath the belief that we can cure the depression by some trick of economic adjustment lies another belief—that this depression is the result of a fault in our economic mechanism, and not the result of faults in ourselves.

I make bold to take another view. I lay down the proposition that the root cause of the depression lies in no fault of this economic mechanism by which we live, but *in* ourselves. The mechanism is *not* a bad mechanism: but we have shewn *ourselves* not good enough to work it. This is not to say that the mechanism of our economic life is perfect. It is in a process of continuous change. But the *main* fault is in ourselves. Not till we recognize this, shall we succeed in making this mechanism function properly once more.

We have before us the pciture, in our daily press, of a Russia which within the past five years has bought, or made, incredible quantities of machinery: and the picture of millions of careless and ignorant peasants ruining that machinery because, in a technical sense, they are not fit to look after it. The picture has a local application much nearer than Russia. Here is the most marvellous piece of machinery that the world has ever seen—our own economic system—more marvellous, by far, than the tractors on the Russian farm, the dynamos in the power station—but also, much more delicate. We, like those ignorant and careless peasants in Russia, have been ruining our own most precious piece of machinery: because we have not been fit to use it. That is the reason, and good reason, for speaking of this as "a man-made depression".

There has, of course, been a certain readiness on all hands to recognise this as a man-made depression. We have been ready to say that the French have done much to bring about the depression, by hoarding the world's gold. We have been ready to say that the Germans have done much to bring about the depression by borrowing more than they could possibly repay. We have been ready to say that our cousins, the Americans, have done much to bring about the depression, by their attitude on the war debts. But nobody has been particularly ready to claim for *himself* a *personal* responsibility for the depression. Nobody has yet said, "Let me confess how I have helped to bring on the depression—or to make it worse". Nobody has yet said, "Do not bother me to take out the mote from my neighbour's eye—I am still busy with the beam in my own eye".

Nevertheless, speaking as one man who can only speak his own thoughts sincerely, I firmly believe that the depression will last till we recognize it as man-made—as due to faults in us—and until we begin with real sincerity to correct those faults. Perhaps—and here I tread upon the threshold of theology—perhaps the depression ought to last, until we recognise it as due to faults in ourselves.

We have been apt to think of the depression as, in its essence, an "Act of God." I do not think of God so meanly, as to suppose that it was launched for nothing upon an unsuspecting world. The more I think of economic problems—I do not know much about them, but I have analysed them all my life—the more strongly do I hold to the view that economics is an exemplification of the moral law. If I am right, then statesmanship has a meaning. If I am wrong, then statesmanship has none, and public life itself is meaningless.

What are these faults in ourselves, to which I have made reference? I suggest to you that they may be summed up in one word—selfishness: but that as this selfishness expresses itself in different ways, sometimes as the greed of nations, sometimes as the greed of social groups within a nation, sometimes as the greed of individuals in its various manifestations, it needs a series of labels to describe it.

Here is a machine of which all of us are parts. Each individual person is a part. Each social group within a nation is a part. Each nation is a part. The harmonious working of the machine—which could provide comfort for us all—depends upon the harmonious working of the parts—demands an all-round subordination of selfish interests to the general interest. It demands co-operation in such a measure as none of us, perhaps, has realised. Each expression of a selfish interest—each refusal to co-operate—sets up friction within the machine. If there is much friction, the machine slows down, and all suffer. If there is enough friction, the machine stops.

To-day, the machine has slowed down. It is running at only half speed. Each month, it runs a little more slowly. We can, if we try, stop it altogether. All that we need do for this purpose, is to continue doing what we have been doing so successfully—to give free play to the selfish interests which attack us, as individuals, as members of the social group to which we belong, and as citizens of the country to which we belong.

To work this out in detail would take a long time. To work it out in technical language, in the language of economics, and to cover the field completely, would be the work of years. Let me therefore take only two things as illustrations, since these two things are, I believe, the most important of all for our economic salvation. I refer to nationalism, and speculative greed.

Nationalism is a new birth of time. It is a product of the last four hundred years. We have fought its manifestation in other nations. We have been proud of its manifestation in ourselves. Nationalism, as manifested in ourselves, we have been all too ready to recognize as patriotism—and we have completely forgotten the dictum of that great English apostle of common-sense, Dr. Samuel Johnson, that "patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel." Nationalism has been the main cause of all the great wars since the star of Napoleon appeared. Nationalism was certainly the main cause of the Great War, in which all of us, each in his own degree, did suffer: from which all of us are suffering now. To-day, nationalism expresses itself in armaments; and in the fatal facility with which our long-drawn-out disarmament conference to-day finds reasons *against* disarming.

But even more effective in its results than the building of tanks and submarines, is the restrictions of trade which must be recognized as another expression of nationalism. Trade is being restricted all over the world to-day, with an ingenuity not equalled in our pervious history. Not only by the simple method of high tariffs, but by special valuations, quotas, prohibitions of import, rationing of foreign exchange, and various other devices, trade is being destroyed, and quite deliberately destroyed, all over the world. Reckoned in volume, one-third of the world's trade had been destroyed, when the leaves turned red last Fall. Reckoned in value, three-fifths of it had been destroyed. The remaining two-thirds (reckoned in volume) or two-fifths only (reckoned in value) continues to-day to shrink before our eyes, and is shrinking faster to-day, so far as we know, than at any time since the depression began.

Now the task of preventing men from trading with one another is not difficult. It *is* difficult to foster trade; to devise policies which will cause men to trade *increasingly* with one another. But it is easy to stop them from trading—or at least, to put trade on a bootleg basis. I do not exaggerate when I say that most of the world's political leaders, during most of the time since the War ended, have been searching for new methods of stopping men from trading across national boundaries.

Most of this has been openly done. It is an expression of national policy. Before the depression began, it was in the hope of securing some advantage for one's own nation, at another nation's expense. Since the depression began, it has been in the hope of unloading the consequences of the depression upon others.

The results of it are visible to-day. They may be seen, all over the world, in stagnant seaports, curtailed railway services, closed factories, impoverished farms, bread-lines, and defaulted debts.

I do not mean that the whole of the depression is to be laid at the door of these nationalist policies. God forbid! Our own action as individuals has been responsible for so much of the depression, that it would be folly to lay the whole of it at the doors of the politicians who, jointly and severally, have been destroying trade.

What have we done as individuals? Our anti-social activities, as individuals, reached their highest form in the five years of frenzied speculation, between 1925 and 1929. I was guilty—you were guilty—most men who could save or borrow the necessary sum of money were guilty, between 1925 and 1929.

In those years, we determined to get rich quick. We desired to live without working, on the sweat of our fellow men—and most of our fellow men, with curious perversity, decided to live on our sweat.

Vast sums of money were lent abroad. Even Canada became, for a time, an exporter of capital to other countries. The money so lent, by those countries which could export capital, to those which needed loans, financed the sale of exports by the lenders to the borrowers. Money was lent from nation to nation in such enormous quantities that the transfer of it literally *dragged* our goods over the rising tariff barriers of neighbouring countries —thus, to some extent, defeating or at least deferring the success of nationalist policies in strangling the world's trade.

But what happened in 1928 and 1929, in the final boiling up of the speculative pot in Wall Street? There is no mystery as to what happened. After all, Wall Street is only the St. James Street of the United States—and the whole world has access to Wall Street when it wants. In 1928 and 1929 occurrred the final frenzy which has destined to shake civilization. Men were growing fabulously rich—on paper—every day. Men were growing rich, not because they had contributed to the welfare and happiness of mankind, but because they had bought International Nickel (—or Noranda, or Smelters, or General Motors, or United States Steel, or any one of a hundred other stocks.) We decided to do likewise. The whole world decided to do likewise. There was such a flood of money *from* the channels of ordinary business *into* stock speculations, as the world had never seen, and, I hope, will not again see. From south, west and north, American money flowed to New York. From north and west, Canadian money flowed as fast. A great tide of European money flowed across the ocean to New York. Finally there was not enoogh money left in the ordinary channels of business to conduct the trade of the world; and the trade of the world broke down.

The breakdown was especially marked in the case of the borrowing countries which, having been encouraged to borrow freely, had borrowed like drunken sailors; and had used the money to purchase the goods they needed—in a large measure, American cotton and Canadian wheat. Thus, we flooded Wall Street and the stock exchanges elsewhere, to capitalise the profits of our trade; and in flooding the stock markets with our money, we denuded the trade channels of necessary cash and credit; so, first undermining, and then destroying, the trade profits that we hoped to capitalise.

If ever a generation digged a pit and fell into that pit, it is the generation to which we ourselves belong.

This description, as I confessed in advance, is all too brief. But it may succeed in bringing home at least to some who have patiently listened for the past half hour, how *our* selfishness—organised greed in fatal association with individual greed—made impossible a continuance of *our* prosperity. Yet, in the face of this record, we who belong to this generation have enough effrontery to discuss this depression as it were an "Act of God!" It is as much man-made, as this magnificent room in which we sit assembled.

And if the depression is man-made, what is to be said of the man-made remedies at present under discussion? Does it not follow what man-made remedies, to be fundamental, to remove the fundamental causes at the root of our troubles, must begin with a change of heart in us? Can we hope to keep in motion the wonderful economic mechanism by which we live, if we persist in causing the friction which is now threatening to stop it?

I think not. It is possible, of course, to take two views. The Marxian Socialist, the Communist, makes out an excellent case for believing that the present system is all wrong—that it possesses inherent defects which must logically result in breakdown—that is, whether by violence or otherwise, in revolution. He has a complete philosophy of history to back his views—a philosophy of history which many people hold unconsciously—possibly some members of this Club among them — who would be horrified if I suggested to them that they have become followers of Marx.

But that is not the view that I have put before you today. Rather, I have tried to divert your attention from proposals — currency proposals, taxation proposals and others—which I regard as essentially tricks of economic adjustment, to proposals which go deep into the heart of man, begin with his own conscience. These. I do regard as fundamental.

If, in putting forward this opinion, I am right, then it follows that *if*, by some trick of economic adjustment, we did succeed in "curing" the depression, we should only gain for ourselves a respite: for the same evils in the human heart which have brought about this depression, would inevitably, sooner or later, bring on another, to complete the work of this depression, and bring down in ruins our civilization.

Coming from an economist, this is no doubt a strange doctrine. You met to hear a discussion of inflation—your attention has been directed to the Golden Rule. But I never spoke more sincerely than I speak to you this afternoon: never with more conviction.

Looking back on the past four years, I wonder that the realization of these things has not brought forth a new religious movement. Not a movement like that of the so-called Oxford Group, which seems to concentrate altogether on individual attitudes and individual conduct. Not a movement like Christian Socialism in its many variations, which seems to concentrate on collective attitudes and collective conduct: but a movement which recognizes the same principle as the basis of collective and personal welfare: which aims to drive out selfishness from the heart of man, and condemns the nationalist expression of selfishness in armed warfare and tariff warfare, no less than it condemns the personal expression of selfishness in all its forms.

I still think that we shall have such a movement—that it is woven in the fabric of our destiny. Against the time when it arises, I commend it to you. The view that I have presented may prove, after all to have been wrong, as it will now be called, by the "practical man", unpractical. None of us is gifted with infallibility. But if these views are indeed wrong, then when the lists are cleared and all of us take sides, you and I would be better to be wrong with Jesus Christ, than right with margin speculators and the nationalist statesmen. (Applause.)

AN ADDRESS BY SIR MALCOLM CAMPBELL

February 28, 1933

LIEUT.-COLONEL GEORGE A. DREW, the President, introduced the speaker.

SIR MALCOLM CAMPBELL: Mr. Chairman, Mr. McCrea and Mr. Mayor: Words fail me when I endeavour to express my very deep appreciation of the wonderful reception which has been accorded me today, first of all at the City Hall by His Worship, the Mayor, and by these great people in Toronto who were there to welcome me, and here, again, I do so greatly appreciate this enormous and representative gathering which we have in this great room here.

It gives the most possible pleasure to come straight back on to British territory once more. I have been looking forward to this visit which, of course, is only of very short duration, but I am most happy to have the privilege and the very great honour of being with you once more.

Now, twelve months have passed since I last had the honour of addressing you—I believe, in this very same room. Much has happened since then. We were all gathered here twelve months ago and we realized that there was a big storm brewing; the sky was overcast and we were faced with the greatest storm of economic depression that history has ever known. We were gathered here, all with a feeling of optimism, a feeling that surely we should pull through, imbued with that spirit which is part of our race, that spirit of "never-say-die". And, Gentlemen, I venture to say that it is that very same spirit which has held us through all the many crises that have happened to our great Empire in past history. (Applause.)

Now, Gentlemen, I venture to say this: that that feeling of optimism to which I have referred was not in any way misplaced because although the storm is not fully past, yet I am sure you will agree with me when I say that the clouds are gradually rolling by and we are beginning to see the light of day. (Applause.)

Much useful work has been done during the past twelve months. Much wonderful work was done by that great Conference held in the City of Ottawa, and we all realize today, more than ever, the utmost importance of inter-Empire trade. We realize that this is the solution of one of our difficulties. I venture to say, also, that we all have travelled further along the road to the solution of our difficulties than any other nation or any other group of nations has done. We have endeavoured to face the facts and we have endeavoured to discover the root of our present difficulties. I say "endeavour to discover" because the situation is so complicated and there are so many different schools of thought, each of which has one solution opposed to another. First of all, there is one school which is of the opinion that the question of war debt settlement is the sole reason for the present world wide depression. Well, Gentlemen, it is quite obvious that that is one of the causes of the present trouble, but not the entire cause.

Then, again, there is another school which is of the opinion that our distribution has completely broken down —that the machinery has—and it is perfectly true that there seems to be something wrong with production but nobody knows exactly why or how that has come about. The situation is so complicated that it is completely beyond the ordinary understanding of the man in the street, such as myself.

The pessimists have even gone so far as to say that we are on the eve of national bankruptcy and the commencement of the decay of civilization. I venture to say, and I believe that you will agree with me, that that will never come about. But if the pessimists are right, which they are not, I venture also to say that the great British Empire will be the last whose civilization will go to decay or who will become bankrupt. Surely, Gentlemen, history has always revealed it in the past and will do so again, and I believe I am right when I say that after the Napoleonic Wars, Great Britain, and in fact, the whole world, went through a very trying time but that only lasted for a period of ten or twelve years. Therefore, we have every reason to be optimistic about the future, provided that we do not lose our heads and provided that we all do the very best we possibly can.

Well, Gentlemen, I suppose you would like me to say a few words about my car and about my experiences recently down in Florida. (Applause.) And, therefore, I had better deal with them more or less in a sequence.

After I went back to England last year we completely pulled the "Bluebird" down and made a number of alterations to her which took nearly nine months to complete. Last year we had fitted to the chassis a Napier supercharged motor which gave off approximately 1,450 horsepower. We realized that if we wished to have a higher speed it was necessary to obtain much more power so I installed a Rolls Royce motor of twelve cylinders which had a power of approximately between 2,000 and 2,500 horsepower. We had to lengthen the chassis to accommodate the motor and we also had to make alterations to the body. All the work was eventually completed at the end of last year.

One difficulty that we always have to contend with is this: theory and practice do not always coincide and we have no facilities whatever for testing such a big car as this. The motor, it is true, is tested on the bench and therefore we know that it is all right. Further than that, we cannot possibly go. Therefore, there is always a feeling of uncertainty in taking a very long journey of thousands of miles from one's base to know whether one may have any slip-ups or whether any mistakes have been made, because those mistakes can only be found out when the car is travelling at high speed.

We arrived, eventually, at Daytona on February 1st. I had previously been informed that the coast of Florida had been swept by terrific storms, lasting over a period of five days and I had been sent some photographs by my friends down there showing the damage actually done but I had already made my plans and I wouldn't turn back and I hoped that by the time I arrived conditions would have improved. I do not believe that they ever had such storms in that part of the world before because the sand dunes were actually eaten away to a depth of over seventy seven feet. Many houses were demolished; grandstands and electric lighting equipment were washed into the sea. The storm had had such an effect on the beach that the level of the sand had completely altered and the beach was not level at all.

In addition, it was most important this time to obtain the maximum possible speed from our car that we should have a much longer run than that of last year when I ran under the pier and got a mile and a half of extra run before approaching the measured mark. This year that was impossible because of the great holes in the beach which were full of water when the tide receded.

Therefore, I realized when I got down and had an opportunity of inspecting the beach for the first time that what we had gained in additional horsepower, we were going to lose because we had not that extra long run, so necessary if extra results are to be achieved.

I should also like to take this opportunity of telling you, Gentlemen, what good conditions mean and how important they are. First of all, you must have a beach that is as smooth as the proverbial billiard table, because any lump or ridge will cause the car actually to leap in the air and a ridge on the sand will cause wheel spin which means that you lose a lot of power. Then, the beach has to be dry. If the beach is wet the car is likely to skid, and, at any rate, a lot more power will be absorbed if the going is heavy. Then, again, of course, you want a beach clear of shells because the tires which we use are thin. Then, you want perfect visibility; that is so obvious. And you mustn't have any wind. If you try to drive at high speed in a side wind, the car begins to float and is liable to be swept right off the course.

Well, we really require, also, today a matter of six miles at least to pick up speed before passing over the measured mile, and an almost equal distance to enable us to slow up. As you are no doubt aware, the present regulation is that you go in one direction and that you come back within an hour in the reverse direction.

We waited for a fortnight under conditions which did not permit of the car being driven at all and I was very anxious to try the car out to see if things were right and so if they were not that they could be put right before the beach got fit for a record run.

After about a fortnight we took the car out for a short burst of speed. I say "short" because half of the beach was under water and therefore we couldn't use all of the three mile run before going over the measured mile and the three to four miles on the other side of it.

We reached a speed of close to 240 miles an hour the first time I had driven the car and we found that one or two alterations were necessary. Unfortunately, during the first trial I rather damaged my left wrist because we have a different type of gear box to the ordinary type. We have what we call a cone mesh and the lever came back and hit me badly when I was endeavouring to change from first to second gear. I didn't worry for two or three days and then, as it got worse and not better, I had to go to a Doctor for treatment. Actually, it didn't get better at all and it hadn't improved on the day we went, a week later.

I am proud, indeed, of my staff of mechanics because they set to work immediately we got the car back to the garage and they worked night and day for three nights to get the car ready—in their anxiety lest we might lose a really good beach.

The work was finished on Saturday and were hanging about the whole time after that hoping for good conditions. First, the beach would improve somewhat and it would be possible to drive on it and then we should be stopped because there was a big fog or something of that kind. Another day, the visibility would be good and the beach would be only fair; then there would be a heavy side wind blowing and from the standpoint of weather we were up against it.

At last, less than a week ago, we decided to take the car out and try it. One great disadvantage about travelling on a beach is that you have to give warning to the officials at least six hours before you intend to go. The wind was changing from north to south and from east to west with lightning velocity instead of blowing from one quarter regularly for a period of time. It made it difficult indeed, to know whether the beach was going to be right or wrong.

The reason why the officials require so much notice is because they have to warn the police to prevent people from walking on the sand and the course has to be sledged over the entire distance and the electrical timing gears set up which takes at least six hours. Therefore, you have to say at high tide that you are going at low tide and you haven't the least idea what the beach is going to be like until the tide has receded.

Well, I went down to look at the course. I didn't like it, particularly. The visibility was bad; the beach was wet in some places; in other places it was rough. But having got the officials down there, I thought that, at any rate, it was worth having a shot at and we started off.

First of all, I wonder if you can visualize a car like that with a definite and a genuine 2,500 horsepower—the enormous feeling of power there is when the accelerator pedal is pressed, because the "Bluebird" is a car with a gear box like an ordinary car, with three speeds and reverse. It has an ordinary gear box, a clutch and an accelerator just as you have in your automobile. You change gears from first to second when the car is doing a speed of about ninety miles an hour and you change from second to top anywhere—two hundred or a hundred and ninety—it's just how you feel. (Laughter.)

There was one thing I was a little scared of before I started and that was wondering whether my hand would hold out or not.

We got away all right and started accelerating. We always know, as a rule, exactly what speed we are doing by our engine revolutions, counted on a big dial immediately behind the steering wheel. We know our road speed by the number of engine revolutions the motor is turning at. At once, when we got in top gear and started going I realized that I was up against a stiff problem on this occasion, due to the wheel spin which commenced to take place after a speed of about two hundred and which caused the car to skate right and left. It was rather a job, in consequence, to keep straight, doing the full speed and I had a visibility of only one and a half seconds in front of the car, due to the low lying mist. With one thing and another, it wasn't a too pleasant ride.

I remember so well—I can always remember my feelings and thoughts during the whole of those periods and I remember looking at the engine revolutions and seeing that it was equivalent at that particular time to a speed of around 300 miles an hour, and I realized that there was a tremendous amount of power going away in wheel spin—how much I couldn't say. Exactly how fast we were going it is impossible to say, but we managed to keep the old car straight over the measured mile and I eventually got down to the end of the course where I found the mechanics waiting to change the wheels. This is the first time, except in South Africa, that I actually stopped to change tires. But I did this because the car was heavier and the beach was strewn with shells.

I should like here to pay the highest tribute to the Dunlop people because I should never have cared to start on this run without those tires. Imagine a car weighing four and a half tons, the beach strewn with sharp and jagged shells—enough to cut through anything—plus the fact that the road wheels were turning at a speed of five thousand revolutions. When we stopped at the far end there were many cuts and tears; but with the exception of that they were all right.

I realized when I stopped and turned the car around what a rough time I had had and I wondered how I was going to get back, my arm hurt so badly.

To give you some idea of my wonderful little staff: they changed four wheels, made a thorough examination, had a look around the car, and had the motor started again in twelve minutes. That, Gentlemen, is really wonderful team work and it just shows you what wonderful mechanics I am very proud to have working with me.

When we started back the beach was tremendously rough; the visibility was worse. I thought that I might go faster by not giving the motor the full throttle because the more the throttle is extended, the more wheel spin one gets and I came back with what must have been a three quarter opening of the throttle and the speed on the return journey was only two miles an hours less than before. That shows the enormous power one has in a Rolls motor and the enormous power the car has if run under perfect and proper conditions.

Today we are only battling with seconds, or fractions thereof, and therefore, any deviation from the straight course, or any wheel spinnage or anything of that sort which will lose a second or half a second is just the difference between success or failure.

It is interesting to note that the average speed last year was 253.9 miles per hour which was over a mile in 14.17 seconds. Today, the speed of 272 miles per hour means an average in time over the measured mile of 13 seconds. As you know, if we can knock 1.23 seconds off that time that is 300 miles per hour. I know that so many people, in the past at least, have tried to knock a second off a hundred yards. It is not so easy as when one is talking about it, but I feel sure that the speed is possible providing that conditions are perfect.

I had great difficulty in keeping the car straight because of the wheel spin and I thought then that if one could have driven a dead straight course we would have saved a second but to do 300 on Daytona Beach as it was was absolutely out of the question.

I am very proud of that old car of mine. I do feel that it is the greatest testimony for the fine lasting qualities of British material and a great tribute to British engineering skill, generally. The car itself, or parts of it, I should say, are now nearly nine years old. I had, due to the expense involved, to cut my coat according to my cloth and use from time to time what parts I could. For example, the front axle is the same axle since 1924. We have the same brakes, the same steering and other parts are exactly the same as they were in those old days. Therefore, it does speak for the wonderful qualities for which Great Britain has such a reputation.

Now, I have been asked so many times, "What is the use of these speed trials? What is the good of them?" And so forth and so on. Well, Gentlemen, I can only tell you that I could talk to you for hours on that subject and I feel sure, if I had the time to do so, you would all go away absolutely agreeing with me when I say that they are of extreme value.

Let me first talk on this question of tires. I have been going for these records for many years now; it is nearly thirty years now—I have been racing since 1906. Up to 1924 the speed of the world's record breaking car was right in front of the lasting qualities of the tires. In 1923, 1924 and 1925, our greatest bugbear was the question of tires — would they hold or not? I have thrown tires at 150 miles or more and I have had them cut through at 150 miles per hour. I have lost a back tire at 186. Today, I go out full of confidence that my tires are O.K.

That, surely, is an answer in one respect, as to what has happened in regard to tires. If we had a motor car capable of 330 miles per hour, it is quite possible that owing to centrifugal forces set up, the tires might not stay on the wheels. Let us say that if we have a car capable of doing a speed of 330, it will be only a question of a short time before tires will be made which will be able to stand those high speeds or even higher.

Another important point: There is no earthly use in building an automobile to do that speed if the car gets out of control before the speed is reached. Stability is the most important point when considering the construction of a car of that type. You may remember a few years ago—around the time of the war—that motor cars were considered dangerous if driven at fifty or sixty miles an hour. Today, we have these small seven and nine horsepower cars driven with perfect safety at speeds of seventy and eighty miles an hour. It is a question of stability, whether racing has taught such or not.

Then there is the power distribution and the distribution of weight. As I said before, it is a topic on which so many lessons are learned that it would take hours to describe them to you.

I should like to say, in conclusion, how very deeply I appreciate the wonderful welcome you have accorded me today and I should like to mention the fact that I was greatly honoured at Daytona by receiving a cable of congratulations from the Prime Minister of Canada. (Applause.)

I thank you, Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen, very, very much for your kindness and for the great reception you have accorded me today and I shall have very great pleasure, Mr. Mayor, in taking back to England your greetings, and I take back with me the happiest possible recollections of this great city of yours—Toronto. (Applause.)

Following his address, Sir Malcolm was presented, on behalf of the Empire Club, with a silver salver. In the absence of Premier Henry, the presentation was made by the Honourable Charles McCrea, Minister of Mines for the Province of Ontario.

THE SPIRIT OF THE PIONEERS TO-DAY

AN ADDRESS BY THE RIGHT REVEREND DERWYN T. OWEN, BISHOP OF TORONTO.

March 9, 1933

LIEUT.-COLONEL GEORGE A. DREW, the President, introduced the speaker.

THE RIGHT REVEREND DERWYN T. OWEN: Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Empire Club: I have been a very fortunate man in my life in many respects. One respect is that so far I have not often known illness. Last January, when I was to have the great privilege of speaking to you, having come as a very new citizen to this City about the New Year, I had an attack of influenza. It was a very mild attack, to tell you the truth, but I had a very strict Doctor, and the combination of a very strict Doctor and a very mild attack of influenza is sometimes a very fortunate thing for a man who hasn't the opportunity to do much reading and there was some element of enjoyment in that few days I was laid aside. And as I sat here with the usual feeling that a man usually has before he makes a speech, I have been regretting that attack of influenza —it would have been so much easier to give this speech a few months ago when I was new and when I hadn't talked very much and we were beginning the new year together than today. It is perfectly appalling to think how many times I have spoken during the past few months. I used to keep a record but I have given up in despair. The making of speeches (I think I am misquoting a great writer) is the occupation of preachers.

Certainly the public who listen to speakers take a great deal of punishment. And they take it with great courage.

I have a subject which I want to speak about, especially because this City of Toronto to which I have come as a citizen, is to celebrate in a year's time its one hundredth anniversary and your minds are to be led back during this hundredth year and especially, next year, to that little "beginnings of a city" beside the Bay—that strange, scattered little city of a hundred years ago.

I thought that it would be a good thing if we could think in these days when we are facing all kinds of old difficulties and a great many new difficulties, when it is pretty hard to see any direct path through the woods, when the wisest and the best of people find it difficult to know what is going to happen in a day's time, I thought it would be a good thing for us at this meeting to think of some of the qualities of the old pioneer spirit—that pioneer spirit which is responsible for the founding of a community like this community of Toronto, which is responsible for the founding of communities all over this vast Dominion.

Most of us know pioneers; we have had first hand contact with them. They are an interesting people. There is something very simple and straight about pioneers; there are some fine lessons you can learn from the pioneers.

It has been my good fortune—one of the many good fortunes I referred to a moment ago—to have come in very close contact with pioneers. Ever since I was a small child I have been a profound admirer of them and of their spirit.

I want to speak to you about four things—four pairs of things—which together make the typical pioneer spirit —that kind of spirit which I say has been responsible for the creating of the Empire and for the establishment of our various communities in this vast Dominion.

When I was a small boy, the family of which I was one left the Old Country. My first recollections are the fading shores of the Isle of Wight and the silver sea around Southampton—the fading view of those old villages and those wonderful trees that stand like green clouds on the landscape—trees such as I have never seen anywhere except in England—that fading view, and then the sea, and Canada, the ox waggon and the following of dim trails across the prairie, then the pioneer settlement and the pioneer driving in that waggon with those two oxen, Buck and Bright. And if you ever want to know how to travel, you travel behind oxen. You travel two miles an hour going away from home and three miles an hour coming back home. The lumbering waggon followed the faint trail across the prairie and that waggon carried the father and the mother and the children. And it carried some of the household goods—a Bible, a Book of Common Prayer, the plays of Shakespeare, a book called "Dear Old England"—the pioneer from that ancient Island carries a book that bears a title something like that wherever he goes.

It is a veneration for the past that is the first quality. He holds on to a great many things that are old. He carries in his waggon—in his saddle bag or in his motor car, now—some of the old things of the Old Land and however long he stays, he looks across the intervening miles of prairie and forest and mountain and sea to the Old Land. I think that is the reason that we have in this country and in the others of the overseas Dominions so many of the old names of the old country repeated in our towns and communities. It was because of homesickness—they were homesick for the old places. They loved the new place too, and the greatest honour they could do the new place and the greatest act of respect to it was to give the old name to the new town. Wherever I find the pioneer, I find that veneration for the old, that homesickness for the well known and the loved.

There is another quality which goes with it—the opposite quality. He is the last man in the world who is always looking back to the past. He believes in the new; he is always venturing out; he cannot be satisfied with merely the well tried and the routine and the conventional. He is quite sure, with Kipling, that there is something hidden behind the ranges, though he may build his shacks and his towns, though he may plough up the requisite number of acres for the quarter section, yet he has his eyes on that which is beyond the hills. There is the call of the new and the strange always on him. A strange combination is that pioneer with his veneration for the old, his love for the old and his belief in the old, but with a desire for that which is new and untried, always ready to give the new a trial to see what it is worth.

As Dean Inge has said in one of his essays—I don't know how he ties in the pioneer spirit, I have forgotten—the one sure way of not resembling a pioneer is to treat the pioneer as if he were a divine oracle—as if he were an infallible oracle. The pioneer never treats anyone as if he were an infallible oracle.

And so we have those two qualities—veneration for the past and belief in the future. I think that is the kind of thing we need now. We are, in a sense, surely at the parting of the ways—something has got to happen. We have got to find a way out and I do not know of anything better than that old, old spirit, that spirit of veneration for what is tried and true in the past, to carry along in our ox waggon a Bible and a Shakespeare and the old things, and to turn the heads of our oxen out towards the wide horizons. That is the first thing I want to say.

The second group of things that I notice about the pioneer is that the typical pioneer is a man of great vision. He isn't only a practical man but he is a visionary. He dreams dreams, and as he works he looks at that crude community, that beginnings of a community, which you see all over this country beyond this little strip of country where we happen to live, these little communities built on the mountain side and on the prairies.

If you get near enough to these men you realize that these men, dressed in these rough clothes, are dreamers, poets, seers. What do you see, O, Pioneer, as you stand in the door of your rough shack? What do you see in the forests of Upper Canada, you who lived a hundred years ago on the shores of Lake Ontario, or on the shores of Lake Simcoe, or Rice Lake or the Niagara River? I see communities growing up in these great forests; I see roads connecting one community to another; I see educational institutions for my children; I see all these coming.

He is the man who dreams dreams. But he does something else as he dreams dreams—he works hard too. There is only one way to get dreams to come true and that is to work. A friend of mine said that the first thing to do is to wake up. The second is to get right down to work in the mud with all the difficulties and all the problems right there, just as they are.

My dear friends, as we meet in this Empire Club under the auspices of that flag, we do realize that we need something of that same combination of the spirit of the visionary and the ordinary every day practical worker, and wherever you find the real pioneer, whether out there from where my friend I see sitting down there comes—the Peace River Dictrict—or whether from the plains of Manitoba or Saskatchewan or Alberta, you will find the strange combination of those two things. He sees a long way beyond the immediate horizon, but as he dreams he is working hard, facing disaster often, but in the only spirit that disaster can be faced, with courage and good cheer, believing that through disaster we get to victory.

There are other pairs of things that I want to ask you to think of. This pioneer, from one point of view, is a very grim person. He believes that "dogged does it". His hands are seared with toil; his back is often bent.

When you know him first, he doesn't have much of a light side to him, but when you know him better you realize that he has another quality which is a quality that I can't define at all. I only know it when I meet it as you do. That is the great thing called humour. He has a sense of humour — that wonderful sense, I believe, so characteristic of our race because we people of the Anglo Saxon race naturally think of the things in which we are strong and I believe one of the things that has carried us through our strange story is the sense of real humour which we have.

I met, a year ago last July, what I would call one of our typical pioneers — a Londoner born in Shepherds Bush. He had been away from London for thirty years and he lived beside a lonely lake, about fifteen hundred miles, I suppose it is, north and west of Edmonton—far away up the mountains there by a river called "The Rat". I had some dealings with that man and I lived with him for two or three days. When I think of him I think of the pioneers I have in my mind—I think of their seriousness, the vision, the poetry, the practical application, the grimness and the humour of them. He sits beside that lake—I have no doubt he is sitting there now, although I do not know what time it is in the Yukon, but he is sitting smoking his pipe at the midday meal—and I believe he is laughing still.

When the war broke out, he said that he didn't know about it until December. He marched one thousand miles so he could get to the nearest recruiting station and get in the war. When he finished the thousand miles and came in they turned him down because they said he had flat feet and would never stand the long marches. (Laughter.)

That is lighting his life now. He says if he lives to be ninety-five, he will never finish laughing at that.

So he spends his time in little walks of from five hundred to a thousand miles, taking in supplies for the

Mounted Police, to the Hudson Bay and different places in the Arctic.

There are other qualifications and combinations which I want to ask you to think of—just two more. (May I say that I had an accident within the last two or three days and I broke my wrist watch. It is very dangerous for people who speak in public to travel without a wrist watch, but your President has come to my rescue and I am looking at the unfamiliar face of the wrist watch of the President of the Empire Club.)

There are two other qualities I want to ask you to think of and the spirit of which will carry us through these days, I have no doubt, for it carried us through bad days before—the old days were very hard days. The troubles and the problems which they had to meet in the early days of the settlement of Upper Canada were very complicated ones. Life was very hard and disaster was often there.

I have before me a sentence from the speech made by the new President of the United States that I want to quote: "Yet our distress comes from no failure of substance; we are stricken by no plague of locusts, compared with the perils which our forefathers conquered because they believed and were not afraid". We have much to be thankful for because they believed and were not afraid. There are true qualities that go side by side in the true pioneers. One is connected with man's most fundamental need.

I have been reading a book lately by Julian Huxley, called "Essays of a Biologist", and the opening words of the opening essay are these—may I read them to you? You know Julian Huxley. You know what he stands for and what he doesn't stand for. This is his question: "What is the most fundamental need of man? What a variety of answers would be given, but I would hazard the belief that the majority, if the question were put before them, would agree that his deepest need is to discover something, some being or power or force which is moulding the destinies of the world—something not himself but greater than himself with which he yet feels that he could harmonize his nature, in which he could repose his doubts through faith and in which he could achieve confidence and hope".

I find in the men of the pioneer spirit that they have got hold of that. They have got hold of that thing which makes sense out of life and to me, the only thing which really makes sense out of life—that there is some thing, some power, some person, that brings coherence and unity and meaning to life. Out there in the waste places, out there on the frontiers of civilization you find that—that simple faith that life is going somewhere, that hard work produces certain results; that there is meaning, unity, purpose, power and love, running through life. Down deep in the heart of the pioneer, struggling with the elements, struggling with disaster, loneliness and homesickness, there is that fundamental faith in the sanity of things and beauty and goodness and truth which many of us call "God".

There is another thing about this man whom I have known for so long, whose example to me has been the benediction of my life. This pioneer man has a true self respect. He has won through his own failures, through his own inconsistency, and through what is worse than inconsistencies, he has won through that great and noble thing called "true self respect". He believes in himself. He has that true pride which is one of the marks of the real man.

Now, Gentlemen of the Empire Club, those are the four things I had in mind to say today. It is the pioneer spirit that has carried our fathers through; that is carrying them through today and the pioneer spirit that will carry us through the difficulties, and the paradoxes and the uncertainties of the present—a real respect for the past, a real belief in the future, a real vision which looks beyond the immediate dreams and sees a wonderful city growing out of the forest. I think that there is a monument all through Upper Canada and all through Ontario, erected by the old pioneers. Metaphorically, I take my hat off every time I see that monument and I see it very often in many parts of Ontario. When I see the old stump fences, when I think of what it meant to those people to tear those stumps out of the forest, when I think of the hard work it meant, then I bow my head in veneration before the pioneers who build the foundations of this country.

Then there is the combination of real seriousness with that wonderful intangible, mysterious thing called humour, that has run through the story of our race; that humour that has nothing in it that is malicious; that humour that runs very close to tears—laughter and tears run very near each other. There is a great deal of pity in that true Anglo-Saxon humour—the humour of Dickens, of Hardy and of Meredith—the humour, too, of H. G. Wells, and—I believe you will excuse me if I say something that I believe in very thoroughly—I believe there has come into the moving pictures of our time an artist of the true traditions of English humour. That is the figure of the pathetic, wistful little man from London —Charlie Chaplin—with his humour, near to tears. That is the kind of thing that has supported our people through the long story, and in the face of all disasters and difficulties. This is the kind of thing that lightens the way of the pioneer—the humour of the Cockney that comes from all those wonderful characters of Charles Dickens! And the combination, last of all, of a belief in God and self respect.

And we stand in spirit before this man and we say to him: "How do dreams come true? How can we build a city here beside the lake? How can we build a city on a swamp? How can we get a road across that morass? What do you do when the children are down with scarlet fever and there is no Doctor within fifty miles? What do you do when the fire comes roaring out of the forest, across the prairies, and disaster stocks and all your efforts go for nothing? What do you do, O, Pioneer?" The pioneer says: "Hold to the past, believe in the future, try again, have faith, look up at the stars, work in the mud, bow down before that eternal power which wraps us all round with His glory, believe in yourself and cultivate a sense of humour." I think that is what he would say today and a great deal more besides. (Applause.)

MUST MUNICIPALITIES MUDDLE ALONG?

AN ADDRESS BY MR. HORACE L. BRITTAIN

March 16th, 1933

LIEUT.-COLONEL GEORGE A. DREW, the President introduced the speaker.

MR. BRITTAIN:—When Col. Drew asked me whether I would speak to our Club on municipal matters I responded, not with alacrity, but with promptness; because I believe that is the part of a loyal citizen, at this juncture particularly, to use his influence so far as possible to stimulate thought on municipal affairs. The element of humour in a topic such as that on which I am speaking is of rare occurrence, and one who can joke amid present conditions is to be congratulated. Last week I came across a jest in a municipal magazine of all places. The professor had made the statement that there were two kinds of taxes, direct and indirect. "Now," he said, "give me an example of an indirect tax." A listener replied instantly, "A dog tax." "But why," he asked, "is a dog tax an indirect tax?" "Because," was the immediate reply, the dog does not pay the tax." There are now very few "gay dogs" like that in Ontario Municipalities. There are 938 municipalities in this Province, most of which are in thoroughly sound condition, although most, if not all, have suffered more or less by the practice of muddling along. What I have to say must not be taken in any way as reflecting on the solvency and indeed the relative efficiency of the municipalities of the Province as a whole. However, to quote a life insurance advertisement, "He is safe from danger who is on guard even when he is safe." This is just as true in the field of citizenship as in that of insurance.

The Definition.

Webster's unabridged dictionary defines the intransitive verb "to muddle" as "to think or act in a confused, aimless way or in a way that tends to make a mess of the business in hand." I suppose that since the foundation of the earliest Roman municipalities, before the beginning of the Christian era, many municipalities have been operated by persons who thought or acted in a confused, aimless way or in a way that not only tended to make, but actually made, a mess of the business in hand. To say the least, the last three decades in Canada have had their full quota of such municipal elected bodies who, like Columbus, didn't know where they were going, and, when they got there, didn't know, to use a colloquialism, "where they were at" and when they got back didn't know where they had been. To be perfectly frank, the people who elected them by voting or staying home didn't know either, and in addition, in many cases didn't know or care whom they had elected.

Where Muddle Has Got Us.

Between 1921 and 1931, the population of urban municipalities in Ontario of 10,000 population or over, went up from 1,238,000 to 1,653,000; but the tax levy went up from fifty million dollars to eighty-four million dollars. Per person, man, woman and child, the taxation went up from about $41 to about $51. During the same period the tax arrears went up from about ten million to about 23½ millions or per capita from $8 to $14. The gross debt went up from about $247,000,000 to over $397,000,000 or from $200 per capita to $240 per capita. The net debt (i.e. the gross debt less sinking funds) went up from about $196,000,000 to over $339,000,000 or per capita from $158 to $205. That is the public mortgage on the home of each average family of five went up from $790 to $1025, while presumably it was struggling to reduce its private mortgage. The most significant fact is that the total tax arrears of 1921 were very slightly over

20% in the year's levy, while in 1931 they were almost 28% of the year's levy. Four of these municipalities passed the 60% mark in 1931 and two of these four the 80% mark. All four defaulted in 1932 and are now under the control of boards of supervisors. Other municipalities not in this population class arrived at the same result, if they followed the same path, and any municipality can attain the same end by adopting the same policies. In fact, the result is certain. Like causes produce like results. Natural law is no respecter of persons or municipalities. In fact the bigger they are, the harder they fall if they get in the way of the law. "Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall."

How May We Know When a Municipality Needs to Watch Its Step or at Least Carefully examine its Position?

There was a time when a municipal debenture, in the minds of the investing public, was a municipal debenture. One was just as good as another, just as one dollar bill is just as good or bad as another. These days are past—not long past, but definitely past. There are differences between municipalities and differences which can be roughly measured. For example, when the total debt of a municipality, of 10,000 population and over, less its sinking funds, if any, passes the mark of $200 per head, it may be perfectly sound or it may not, but all the circumtances should be inquired into. If the debt includes a large public utility debt which bears, always has borne and presumably will continue to bear its own debt charges, the net general debt which is a direct charge on tax revenues may fall below $100 per capita; in which case, there is not only no cause for alarm, but even occasion for congratulation. If on the other hand, within the total per capita, there is little or no public utility debt, or if, when existing, the utilities do not carry their own debt charges out of their own revenues, the danger point is being approached, if it has not already been reached. This yardstick is of only monitary and relative value. The relative average earning capacity of the inhabitants of two municipalities may be very different. One municipality may be able to bear a $200 per capita load or debenture debt and another not. Again the value of the dollar varies. $200 at one time may be worth $200 and at another $150. It is a shifting standard.

There is another standard. Some hold that when the debt reached 20% of the assessment for taxation purposes, the situation should be canvassed. When one considers what may be done with the assessment without seriously affecting the conscience, this yardstick is seen to be of restricted value. One may raise the assessment to reduce the percentage, or retain a swollen assessment in order to maintain the percentage.

Recently a third standard has emerged in the relation of total unpaid taxes to the annual tax levy. In the spacious days of ten and five years ago many municipalities were slack in collection. They didn't collect when collecting was good, and the time came when they couldn't collect and when they couldn't borrow further on tax arrears. But even in municipalities which have had active and efficient tax collection departments, the growth of tax arrears has become a sign of the times. It may almost be said that in a municipality the total unpaid taxes of which have reached 25% of the total tax levy it is time to watch. When they have reached 33 1/3%, it is time to pray without ceasing. When they have reached 50% it is time to repent in sackcloth and ashes and when they have reached 60% it is time to seek absolution. I shall leave the relative order to my theological friends.

WHY Municipalities Get into a Muddle.

No doubt at the present time many, if not most, municipalities which are in serious trouble attribute their difficulties to the world crisis. This is a natural but false view. Just as a man whose health has been undermined for years may first become conscious of his real condition when he is submitted to some unusual and severe strain, so a municipality which has neglected its health for years, may become conscious of its position only when it suddenly cannot meet its principal and interest payments. The conditions did not come suddenly, they only became evident suddenly. Just as a really healthy man is one who can stand up under an unusual strain, so a municipality can not be said to be in a healthy condition if it collapses long before others under an unusual strain. The seeds of disease and dissolution invariably are sown before the disease culminates. The depression may have brought out weaknesses before they otherwise would have appeared, but in the main the depression is the occasion for an excuse of the politicians not a fundamental cause.

WHAT ARE SOME OF THESE FUNDAMENTAL CAUSES?

1. *Budgeting for a deficit.*

A Canadian municipality of some 25,000 souls has budgeted for an average annual deficit of $50,000 for a considerable term of years, by appropriating the whole of its tax levy without setting up a reserve for uncollectible taxes. Another familiar and widely practised way to budget for a deficit, while seeming not to do so, is to pretend that the municipality will not have to meet expense which it is known will have to be met. Another is to pretend that revenues will accrue which it is known or shrewdly suspected will not accrue. All these practices result in revenue deficits. When these have accumulated to a sufficient size to be troublesome, the municipality is apt to go to the legislature to permit funding of those current liabilities, which, if it does not add insult to injury, at least adds interest to principal and passes on a delayed but increased burden for other Councils to worry over and the taxpayers to wrestle with, which brings me to a second fundamental cause viz:

2. *Issuing debentures where there are no or insufficient corresponding Assets.*

When a municipality issues debentures for sidewalks, it has the sidewalks and can use them. When it issues them to meet a deficit or for any expenditure which would otherwise cause a deficit, the final payment is postponed, but there is no added corresponding utility or use. There comes a time when neither the banks nor the public will lend on the security of such a municipality. This security in the last analysis is its ability to levy and collect taxes. Municipalities in this connection should pray that they be not led into temptation, and legislatures would render a real, if unexpected, service by making it impossible to yield to temptation. In these days not all people who are taxed have to pay taxes. They pay them as long as it is to their advantage. If not, they move out and leave their assets, if any, to the municipality. There are municipalities in Canada which own, say, a fifth of their whole area, which has been abandoned by taxpayers who were tired of paying taxes with no equivalent advantage. There is no worse fallacy than that a municipality can continue to issue debentures until the equity of property owners in their property disappears and still collect sufficient taxes to finance its current services at an inflated level and carry its debt charges at the same time. It is to be hoped that municipalities will not seek special legislation to refund debentures due. This is only a variant of the policy of issuing debentures for purposes which leave no assets. Recently I read the following passage: "How recreant we would be, if having been responsible for piling up a debt, we should seek to escape the burden by leaving it to future taxpayers to discharge. Such an incident did happen when many years ago—in the sixties—a municipality failed to meet in full an obligation of approximately $1,000,000, and left part of it to the future, with the result that when the debt is finally paid in a year or two, it will have required the payment of $4,000,000 to discharge the obligation."

3. *Failing to Budget Capital Expenditures Over a Term of Years.*

In former times when municipal needs were comparatively simple and inexpensive, municipal undertakings could usually be completed in a year or two and the borrowed capital involved was relatively small; but now municipalities undertake all sorts of improvements, some of which may take five or six years to complete and thirty or forty years to pay for. If it is necessary to plan annual expenditure from revenue, it is even more necessary to budget expenditures from capital funds obtained by borrowing. Many a municipality has found itself with an unexpected burden of debt by following the custom of considering each proposed improvement as a unit by itself without relation to other community needs or the final ability of the taxpayer to pay debt charges. Simply drawing up a city plan or entering all proposed improvements on a map of the city does not produce a capital budget. A budget sets forth what is to be done, the order in which the various units are to be undertaken, how the money is to be obtained and how it is to be paid back. In many cases the financing should be assured before the work is undertaken.. Such a budget plan would not be unchangeable as the laws of the Medes and Persians, but could be speeded up or slowed down as circumstances indicated and Councils decided.

4. *Electing Members of Council for One Year Terms.*

If any undertaking ever needed continuity of policy it is a municipal corporation. Yet most Ontario Municipalities elect their aldermen or councillors for one year terms. A new member keeps quiet if he is wise for the first three months. He begins to take notice in the next two. Then comes two months of vacation. Then he has to think about re-election. All through the year, if he wants to be re-elected, he keeps his ear to the ground. The tremors he looks for are not always from citizens and taxpayers, but frequently from other quarters. This system is the negation of democracy in the name of which it exists. We say, in practice, "we can't trust anyone we might elect for two years. It is necessary to keep a string on him so he can't do anything wrong." The same string which keeps him from doing anything wrong, also operates to keep him from doing anything right. The result too often is that he does nothing at all. In England, the home of political democracy, they have more faith. One-third of a borough council is elected each year for three year terms. A man can devote the first six months to getting acquainted with the job, two years to giving service and the last six months to mending his fences and consulting the auspices.

5. *Sectionalism.*

This is an extremely expensive luxury although I suppose we must have it. Its effects in the provincial and Dominion fields are obvious. The ward system of election establishes a conflict of loyalities—to the ward and the city, and too often the conflict is decided in favour of the ward which elects. In a municipality recently visited, not in Ontario, the appropriations or current street maintenance and capital improvements are usually divided equally among the wards, the accounts keep careful tab on these expenditures by ward, monthly reports thereon are submitted, there is a terrible time if any councillor thinks something is being put over on him, and the municipality is now bankrupt. This is an extreme example, but it exemplifies what logrolling and the attempt to get something for the district at the general expense will do.

6. *Too many and "water-tight" departments.*

In a Western city some years ago, there were 29 departments of the city's work. The more independent departments, the more spenders, and the more spenders, the more spent. It is not unusual to find in a city some 10 departments with several independent boards and commissions. The difficulty of securing the advantages of unified command under such an organization is patent.

7. *Carelessness in the selection of the Personnel of the Permanent Staff.*

When budgets are not made and accounts not kept so as to show automatically the number of employees and the amounts paid to them, the task of controlling the salary and wage bill is stupendous. In well managed private business which must pay dividends, the urge is always to keep personnel at a minimum. In public business when departments are often in practice graded in importance according to their size, and department heads are often paid in proportion to the number of employees in their department, it is all the other way, with the result that the public payroll has become swollen to almost unbelievable proportions. Not all appointments are made for efficiency. Athough there is no lodge way or non-lodge way of laying sidewalks, and no Tory or Grit way of cleaning streets, lodge and political affiliations may determine appointments. Too often men are appointed to a job because they need a job, any job. Recently the press reported that in a large Canadian city 15% of the total number of civic employees were related to one another. This was due undoubtedly to the well known efficiency of relatives. I have never known anyone's relative being inefficient if some one else was paying his salary. It might be well, in the interests of efficiency to appoint city managers on the understanding that they would appoint relatives only, his or ours.

8. *Ease in borrowing money.*

Easy money has been the downfall of many private concerns and individuals. If banks and investors had been a little more hardboiled in the past, many municipal eggs wouldn't find themselves in hot water now. In the past, free spending has been good politics. Easy borrowing means free spending. Too often free spending means bankruptcy.

What must be done to substitute planned control for drift or muddle?

1. We must establish balanced budgets, not by increas-

ing taxation but by reducing expenditure. We can't begin to expend until we have first established a solid point of departure.

2. We must limit tax levies to the ability of taxpayers to pay as shown by tax collections.
3. We must appropriate, for some years at any rate, only to the extent of the cash we know will be available.
4. We must pay as we go, issuing debentures only for absolutely necessary purposes and where valuable assets are left behind.
5. We must establish assured continuity of membership in elected bodies.
6. We must reduce the number of departments and centralize large spending operative departments under a single administration.
7. We must "scotch" sectionalism in municipal affairs.
8. We must give up the practice of going to the legislature asking for permission to issue debentures without the vote of the people and adopt the general policy, irrespective of the legal powers of Council of referring to general vote all such matters which may legally be so referred. Let the people whose property is mortgaged by public debenture issues, pass on the size of the mortgage.
9. Most important of all, we must build up sound, aggressive public opinion. The policy of hush, hush, dangerous as it has proved to be in large privately controlled business, is disastrous in public business. A statement of the truth never hurt any municipality's credit. Attempted suppression of the truth has. Nowadays, people who invest in municipal bonds have cut their wisdom teeth. They don't have to be told and they can't be fooled. If a man is knocked down by a motor car his hurts don't result from the fact that the press report the accident. So a municipality's condition, credit or otherwise, is not due to some one telling the facts but to governing bodies allowing the facts to become facts. The surest way to prevent undesirable conditions is to

draw attention to their approach. People rarely do wrong while someone is looking at them. The wisest public men and the most able and courageous officials welcome the fullest publicity, as they are conscious that sound public opinion alone makes possible the maintenance of the policies on which they have set their hearts.

In conclusion, looking over the field as a whole, we have too many local governments, too many public bodies with the independent right of spending public money, too many people on Councils, Boards and Commissions, and too many employees acting under their direction. In 1932 it was estimated that there were in Canada 3,955 municipalities, 23,380 school authorities and say, 100,000 to 125,000 members of local governing bodies and possibly 135,000 employees. If the number of municipalities were cut down to 2,000, the number of School authorities to 3,000 and the number of Council and Board members to 25,000 there might be less oratory and fewer opportunities for election to office, but there would certainly not be less service. To a large extent, the boundaries of our countries and townships were established before the coming of the motor car. The old gray mare might in the old days have taken half a day to reach the township hall. Now in a motor car one can traverse three counties in an hour and twenty in a day. Yet in some municipal governments the only visible effect had been to increase the cost of transportation payable out of taxes. The county is a middleman thrust in between the local municipalities and the provincial government. Why not abolish the county and enlarge the township? We love our municipalities but we could love them and support them better if there were fewer of them.

(Applause.)

THE UNITED STATES FACES THE FUTURE

AN ADDRESS BY DR. HERBERT ADAMS GIBBONS

March 23, 1933

LIEUT.-COLONEL GEORGE A. DREW, the President, introduced the speaker.

DR. HERBERT ADAMS GIBBONS: Colonel Drew and Gentlemen: A role that I have not very often been called upon to fill is the role of interpreter of my own country to other countries. It has been rather as an interpreter of other countries to my own country that I have been engaged in the lecture field, but I do feel particularly privileged to be able to come to The Empire Club of Canada at such a critical moment as this is and to bring you a word from the United States.

I am very glad that a little more than a month ago I had the hunch in France to come back to my own country and I arrived there only the week before the crisis became acute. I brought with me memories of recent experiences in other lands—in Europe, in Africa and the Far East, where this world crisis has been now for several years, ready to break forth—and I have seen its effect upon my own countrymen.

It is a great thing for an American—I use "American" in the narrower sense of the word, as a citizen of the United States of America—to come before an organization in a sister country so near to us, and, as your Chairman has said, so closely bound up with us and interested in our problems, and to speak of how the United States is taking this crisis and of what lies ahead of us in the future, because I feel myself, whenever I go anywhere within the British Empire that I am in a friendly atmosphere. (Applause.)

My travels have taken me almost everywhere that the British flag flies. I remember when I was a youngster at the Jubilee of Queen Victoria, Canada got out a postage stamp—a Mercatorial projection of the whole world, and in red were the countries all around the world where the sun never sets and the British flag waves. Since that time it has been my privilege to be, not everywhere that the British flag waves but nearly everywhere, and I have always felt at home, just as I feel at home here because I know, despite the little differences that we have from time to time in different parts of the world—perhaps, sometimes growing more acute because we are so closely related—that we are all members of one family and what affects one of us can not help but affect the others.

I have a daughter who is at school. She is a young girl of seventeen who has been for three years at school at Malvern, at the Malvern Girls' College at Worcestershire and she writes about her Debating Society and the problems she has to expound on the platform, relating not to the British Empire as a whole, but to England and I am surprised at how closely those problems come home to us.

When I travel throughout different parts of the world and go to church, whether in Singapore or Shanghai, in Madras or Calcutta, in Mombasa, Nairobi or Capetown, or in the East Indies, or anywhere that is a British possession, I am almost moved to tears by the fact that, as a general rule, following the mention of the name of His Majesty, King George the Fifth, they all make, before other potentates and presidents, a special mention of the President of the United States. That is the custom throughout the British Empire, so I can feel that I am at home—in my own home church among people who speak the same language that I speak and who have the same thoughts and the same ideas.

The United States was very late in coming into the World War. There were a great many of us who lived on the Eastern seaboard who were in contact with Europe or who as Americans had lived in Europe, who felt the underlying significance of the issues at stake and who thought from the very beginning that the United States should have aligned herself with the Entente Powers in the Great War raging over in Europe; but we could see the reason why the United States did not come in at the beginning. There seemed to be in the minds of the people as a whole in our country, no vital American interest at stake and no country ever goes to war without having the conviction that it is itself, in danger. It took three years for us to arrive at that conclusion, but once we did, I think you will agree that we all went in, on the other side of the border, wholeheartedly, and did the best we could to finish up the job. However, the policy that the United States has followed, and it has been up to comparatively recent times a successful policy, has been the policy of non-intervention—the policy of isolation. We have been in the United States, the same as you in Canada, wrapped up in our own problems. We have used all our energies in the development of our country, as has been the case in this country and has not been the case in European countries, including Great Britain; our producing capacity has never kept up with our consuming capacity, either in agricultural goods or in our investment capacity.

But with the turn of the century, fifteen years before the World War, the world situation became different and we all became more closely bound together, stretching out and reaching out for world trade and it was the development of world trade and investment in foreign countries that brought the United States as well as Canada into conflict with those countries from which we came originally and from which we had not broken off contacts.

I remember how, as a youngster in my late teens when travelling through England, how riled I used to be—and I think that Canadians have had the same feeling as Americans—at the thought that we, the Americans, didn't have in our country quite the things they had there. This was especially true when we went through the cathedrals.

My people originally came from near Hampshire which is not far from Salisbury. One of my ancestors was the organist at Westminster Abbey and my people had lived there from time immemorial. I remember when I was in the Cathedral at Salisbury and the verger was showing me around. He had a supercilious smile which meant: "Over in your country, you have nothing like this." As I was young and hot-headed, I was tempted to say and I did say it to him: "Wipe that smile off your face". I said that my ancestors built this country; they built this cathedral and they lived under its shadow for hundreds of years—until they had enough sense to get out. It was not to build a new civilization—our culture and our civilization is simply a transplanted culture and a transplanted civilization from the Old Country, and to us, England means what it does to you. It is our home and our cultural ancestry. They may not think that we have a right to the share of everything over there, but we believe that we have and that is what counts with us.

I have never been so proud of my fellow countrymen as I have been during the past few weeks. I think that we have been through a tremendous test with the crisis coming, dramatically, on the very day that the new President of the United States was being inaugurated—a crisis that couldn't be staged off that morning even to await the moment that he took the oath of office. Banks were closed throughout the nation; on every side a national bank holiday, and federal authority by most of the governors of the states following closely on the bank holiday order. And the calm way they took it! I have had lots of letters from my friends in France, Italy and Germany and England and I must say that the letters from England have been very different from those from Continental Europe. From all over Europe and from my French friends—and I love France and I have lived there a good deal of my time—I think the wish has been father to the thought, because they all speak of the terrible panic we must be in in America. I have tried to answer every one that there is no vestige of panic anywhere in the United States and there hasn't been during the banking holiday. From the first day the banks closed in New York State—I was in the State of New Jersey, in Princeton, my own town—there was no violence, no disorder, no real feeling among the people as a whole of gloom or pessimism. Everybody stood by in perfect order and everyone decided that no matter what their politics were, they were going to give the new President a chance to prove himself and see what he would do.

In this the radio played a very great role. Wherever one was throughout the country, one was able to listen in and hear the ceremony of the Administration of the Oath of Office to the President, and following that, the wonderful Inaugural Address, made under dramatic circumstances—more dramatic than has ever occurred in the history of the United States with the possible exception of the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln. And that address of Roosevelt's, although the country is normally Republican and not Democratic—Roosevelt was elected through force of circumstances last December—created the feeling throughout the country that we had a pilot—a real he-man who was going to carry us through the storm. And he spokee to the nation again on Sunday night and every single step taken by the Federal Government was relayed over the air to all the nation through the network of the broadcasting systems, so that there wasn't a person in Amreica who, if they wanted to, could not have turned in and listened to the President of the United States telling the people in the simplest sort of language what measures the Federal Government was going to take—and it did not end in talk! (Applause.)

From the very first day—he was inaugurated on a Saturday—steps were taken so that on Monday morning when the banks didn't open, when in New York State they didn't open, we were given the promise of the early resumption of business activities. I think that it is a marvellous thing for a hundred and twenty million people to be for several days without any money. No one could have ever foreseen that such a crisis would arise. If anyone had told me the Friday night before the Inauguration that I wouldn't be able to get my money out of my bank and that I wouldn't know what day I could get it out, I would have said, "You are dreaming". There might be some bank failures but that the banking system as a whole would close down, I didn't think possible. No one thought it possible. When it occurred, everyone was gay, happy, buoyant, confident, and on the day that the banks opened the spirit of the American people was shown in the fact that the deposits in the banks on that day were far greater than the withdrawals.

Now, of course we don't want to fool ourselves and we don't intend to fool ourselves as regards the situation, financially, in the United States. Perfect frankness is the only possible safety for the people of our country and they realize that, and if you will remember when Mr. Roosevelt explained the reasons for closing down the banks and for keeping the bank holiday going for several days, he never promised to the people that *all* of them were going to get their money out of all the banks that had been closed. He didn't say that. What he said was that there had been an unprecedented withdrawal of funds from the banks during the few days previous to the national bank holiday and that was the result of a long period of uneasiness and unrest, and that as soon as it was possible the banks were going to reopen—those which were strong and solid, and others could reopen which had assets, though frozen, that were bona fide assets and they would be reopened as soon as possible. He promised no date but he let it be understood very clearly by the people of the country that there would be some banks which would not reopen—and we have that still to face in our country. There is no doubt that many banks were closed down as a result of the bank holiday which will not be able to recover, but what we feel as we face the future is this: that if we had not had the bank holiday, many more banks would have gone under than will go under. We are going to go through a very hard spring and early summer in the United States, financially. There was in this bank holiday a little bit of the administration of oxygen to the patient in the whole process and some of the patients—that is the banks to whom this oxygen was administrated—will not recover.

There is going to be, as there has been for the past two years in the United States, a continuation of hard times in many localities and we haven't yet, perhaps, touched bottom in certain parts of our country.

More than that, I might say very frankly, when we speak of the gold standard and our maintenance of the gold standard, that we really didn't do it. Several years ago Japan was criticized very severely for an embargo on the export of gold from the country and the statement was made by some of our leading financial experts in New York, in banking circles, especially, that because the free export of gold had been forbidden by Japan that Japan was not really on the gold standard. Now, no country is really one hundred percent on the gold standard that forbids the export of gold or that interferes with the free flow of international exchange. In that sense, we in the United States, today, are not one hundred percent on the gold standard and we have to admit it very frankly. The sooner we admit it to ourselves, as well as to others, perhaps the better.

More than that, we realize in the United States that we have been a little bit too superior in our attitude toward other countries in regard to our solvency, in regard to the intrinsic worth of our currency, in regard to our ability to pass through a crisis that has affected all of humanity.

We haven't realized yet in the United States that we haven't fully paid for the War. Germany deflated her currency to the point where her debts were wiped out and there was a new deal all round. In France, eighty percent of the assets of the nation, in savings and so forth, were wiped out when a stabilization was made at the point of three and ninety one-hundredths cents on the franc. In other countries it was the same way. Great Britain went off the gold standard, went back on the gold standard and again and with the greatest courage any nation has shown since the World War, deliberately went off the gold standard. And I think that we, in the United States, despite the high talk we hear in various circles, are going to find in the next few months that we cannot adopt, in regard to the rest of the world, an air of superiority and we cannot make the dollar the standard for the whole world. We have got also to realize the necessity of a certain amount of inflation, however much we may deplore it and I think that the probabilities are that before the end of the month of June, in the United States we will begin to see that the British policy, adopted a couple of years ago, is a policy that we would do well, ourselves, to follow. I think that is probably going to come. I know that I am on risky ground here —very risky ground in risking a prophecy—but you know the oldest organization of gambling in the world is Lloyds in London, and when they were taking the bids that the United States is not going to abandon the gold standard, they said up to June. Up to that time they were willing to give five to one that the United States would remain, technically, on the gold standard. After that, they don't know. And none of us know what is going to happen after that.

Whatever we do in the United States in regard to our currency, whatever we may be forced to do, there is one thing we may be sure of, here in Canada as elsewhere, and that is that the people of the United States are not going to lose confidence in their government. There is going to be no disorder; no revolutions, even locally; no upset of any kind; no Communistic uprising. Whatever process follows will be clearly and wholly orderly. The people of the country as a whole, though certain interests may suffer, the people of the country as a whole are not going to suffer unduly and we are going to pull out and pull out at the earliest possible moment. (Applause.)

I think that what has happened in the last month is guarantee enough for a man like myself to make a prophecy of that kind concerning his own country.

We have been singularly blind in the United States, both as to our obligations and our opportunities as a member of the family of nations. That is a confession we must make at the beginning of 1933, and if we make that confession sincerely and whole heartedly and endeavour to repair the errors of the past, I think the government at Washington, more than any other government in the world, can hasten the return of economic well being throughout the world. (Applause.)

The difficulty with the American people has been that we are hardly aware that the great wide world outside of our own orbit exists. We went into the World War, of course, eventually, and we did our bit and did it well, but at the end of the War we were just as anxious to get home as we had been a year and a half earlier to get "Over there, Over there", as we called it in our song, and there was a revulsion of feeling in America and a desire on the part of the people in the country to wipe their hands of all European affairs. We hadn't been in the War long enough; we hadn't suffered enough; we hadn't made enough of a sacrifice to realize what there was ahead of us in the future if we had made the proper choice of remaining in world affairs after 1919 as we undoubtedly were in world affairs during that year.

I have often, to audiences in my own country, compared the attitude of the United States and her foreign policy to that of the mother-in-law in the home. We have been sort of like a mother-in-law to Europe. We have been very willing to give advice, but to accept no responsibility. During the course of the last twelve years I think the most amazing thing has occurred—unique in all history has been the presence of American unofficial observers at Geneva, Lausanne and elsewhere at Economic Conferences, at political conferences, always ready and willing to give advice to other nations but at no time has our Government at Washington shown a disposition to accept responsibility following that advice and that is the reason we are in trouble now. We might as well admit it and I have no hesitancy in saying it right here in Toronto, just as I would say it in New York or any other American city.

During the year 1932 it was felt that a great step forward had been made in bringing the world back to an equilibrium, economically and politically, by what was accomplished at Lausanne when German reparations were cut down to almost the vanishing point and when even France, who had the most to suffer by it, showed at least her willingness to take three and an eighth cents and to kiss the rest of the reparations "Goodby".

Now, that was done largely, I think, out of the sound advise that was given from America. The Europeans acted upon it and in perfect good faith went ahead and did what was essential; that is, they wiped out in a very large measure the whole problem of reparations that has been disturbing Europe ever since the World War and that had made impossible the recovery of economic equilibrium.

But, as Mr. Laval said after his return to France, there has been a placid acceptance on the part of President Hoover and his counsellors and the American State Department of the thesis that reparations and war debts went together and Mr. Laval returned to France and communicated with other statesmen there and got across to them the proposition to reduce the reparations due from Germany, with the understanding that immediately after that was accomplished the United States would be willing to talk about a reduction of intergovernmental debts, of the war debts of the European powers due to the United States.

Now, of course, there is a difference of opinion as to exactly what Mr. Hoover meant and as to what Mr. Laval meant. They were both high minded gentlemen acting in perfect good faith and I think that our State Department was acting in good faith also and the men surrounding Mr. Laval were acting in good faith but one essential fact remains: you can not draw a distinction between reparations and war debts for the simple reason that both have to do with the same economic problem which is the transfer of wealth from one country to another. How can it be accomplished? Ever since 1919, in all I have written, in all the speeches I have made in various parts of the world, I have asked those Americans who are opposed to a drastic reduction, if not entire cancellation of war debts, to show me how money can be transferred from one country to another in any other way but by services and goods. (Applause.) And I tell you, Gentlemen, I never have had an answer to that question satisfactorily given to me. The war debts were contracted through the purchase of goods originating in the United States. The large portion of this money—the so called billions of dollars owed to us in America—would be simply payment for supplies which we Americans gave or sent over to Europe.

Immediately after the war the Republican administration came into power and started to raise tariffs higher and higher and higher. All this mad rush of tariffs in all the countries of the world, including England, originated in Washington in the error made first by the American Government and the American Congress. We have to take the initiative in repairing the error; when we do so, we are going to find an unchecked flow of trade throughout the world which will be the salvation of the world, economically.

We can't possibly go on as we have gone on and I believe that the experiences of the past decade, leading up to and culminating in the American financial crisis in 1929 which became a world crisis, affecting the whole world, have shown that the principle fault lies in that very thing—the fact that we didn't liquidate the World War at the end of the World War, but have allowed it to drag through a decade and the American Congress, by its action, made impossible the liquidation of the World War. We have been principally responsible, and unless we accept the responsibility and attempt to repair the error, we are not going to have the new world that we hope to live in in the course of a decade ahead.

We need, first of all, a drastic revision of tariff schedules, not only in the United States, but in Canada, France, Germany and all the other countries. And we need to do away with war debts and all kinds of intergovernmental obligations in the same spirit and to the same extent that the Conference in Lausanne proposed to do away with German reparations. When we arrive at that point and are willing to do it, then the Roosevelt Administration in going to find what the previous administration in the United States in the last three terms did not find—a way to solve the economic crisis.

We were carried along for eight or nine or ten years on a wave of false prosperity in America. We didn't face issues. Now, we hope to God that the experiences of the past months and what we still have to pass through in March, April and May of this year—perhaps on into June—is going to teach the lesson that we, on the other side of the border, need to learn: that we can't stand by ourselves and we have to stand, to sink or swim, with the rest of the world and by going along with the rest of the world we will find salvation for all the world and a better world to live in for everybody in every continent.

We know that we have the warmest sort of sympathy and understanding from our Canadian friends. (Applause.) We, on the other side of the border, are not being damned in Canada as we are in Europe because Canadians are facing the same problems that we have to face. You have the same type of composite population, the same open spaces, the same history and background of development across the continent. Canadians know, as well as Americans, just to what length this doctrine of isolation carries us and how difficult it is to overcome, because you have your work to do here as well as we have in the United States to make the world realize that the world is one and we are all together.

International co-operation is something that we have to face—that we have to decide to take part in. I know that the feeling here in Canada is very strong that the United States should be a member of the League of Nations. It is equally strong among certain elements in America who are working with that end in view. There are, however, Constitutional limitations — the form of government we have, that makes very difficult equal co-operation on equal terms in an organization like the League of Nations. Those are things which have to be worked out before we go in on an equal footing in an organization of that kind with other nations.

That doesn't mean that we cannot accept our share of responsibility in problems that have arisen up to the present time. It means, also, that we in America can go ahead and take the initiative as we have not done in the past, actually take the initiative in a number of different things that are for the good of the whole world.

I think that as we started the business of the mad uprush of high tariffs, it is up to Washington to start the business of the downward trend of tariffs and I think that other nations have a perfect right to look to the United States for a beginning in this work. I think that other people have a right to look to the United States for initiative on our part. London has done all they could; Paris has done all she could. It is up to us to take a step in the reduction of war debts. So far as I am concerned, I should like to see them wiped out altogether.

Now, this is the way, Gentlemen, I believe my country can serve the world. We are a pretty big nation—almost too big a unit in the United States. We are the largest division of the white race living under one flag and we have lots of regional problems to deal with in our own country which are very serious but we can not afford any longer to neglect our international opportunities and our international obligations.

I would like to end just with this note—a note of optimism. I believe that there is more interest being shown in the United States than ever before in world affairs. We are getting educated. We are coming to the point where we see what this interdependence is and how our own prosperity and our own well-being depends on it because, after all, it is perfectly true that, whether as a family or a nation, we are moved in the final analysis by: "What are we going to get out of it?"

There must be an answer to that question in every country. What we need in America is an awakening to the fact that we are not going to pull out of our present economic depression until we do our "damndest" to help the rest of the world pull out of it. (Applause.)

THE PUBLIC AND THE POLITICIANS

AN ADDRESS BY MR. GRATTAN O'LEARY

March 30, 1933

LIEUT.-COLONEL GEORGE A. DREW, the President, introduced the speaker.

MR. GRATTAN O'LEARY: Colonel Drew and Gentlemen of the Empire Club: In listening to your Chairman introducing me and extolling my virtues and achievements, I was reminded of the case of a Dr. Jones who was called as a witness in a New York trial not very long ago. The counsel for the defence, in calling upon Dr. Jones said that he would now call upon a man who was the greatest physician in the United States. So, when the counsel for the prosecution came to cross examine Dr. Jones he said to him: "Dr. Jones, is it true that you are the greatest physician in the United States?" and Dr. Jones said, "Yes". The next day the newspapers carried headlines saying how Dr. Jones had said that he was the greatest physician in the United States. When Dr. Jones got back to the John Hopkins hospital his associates said, "Jones, did you tell them in New York that you were the greatest physician in the United States?" Jones said, "Yes". They said, "Good God, Jones, how did you come to say that?" He replied, "Well, I had to. I was on oath". (Laughter.)

Not being on oath here today I shall have to dissent from some of the things said by your Chairman because, as a matter of fact, whenever I arise to discuss anything in public, whether it be politics or anything else, I always feel like a Harvard professor who, everytime he was called upon to make a speech in public invariably made four: first, the speech he made to his wife before going to his audience; then the speech he made to his audience; next, the speech he made on the way home and wished to God he had made to his audience; and, finally the speech he made the next day in the press. (Laughter.)

Your Chairman has told me that this is an organization or a club which welcomes frank discussion and as that is the only discussion which is worth while I shall try to be frank in what I say today.

I have taken for my subject, as you have been told, "The Public and the Politicians". I have taken that subject for two reasons: first, because it is the one subject in the world upon which I ought to be competent to speak with some small degree of authority; and, second, because it is a much more vital topic than the average citizen is perhaps inclined to believe.

All of us seem to be agreed that there is something wrong with politics. Everywhere you go in this country and no matter where you go, you will find people challenging our public life. We are told that representative government is on trial. We are told that the word "politician" has come to be a term of reproach and all over this continent, in Canada and in the United States, millions of our people proclaim their indifference and their apathy by complete absence from the polls.

Now, why is this? Why is it that politics which, after all, is the science and the art of government which proclaims the right of people to assert their rights as free men, why is it that politics has thus fallen into disrepute? One answer, I think, and certainly a partial answer, is the growing propensity among all of us to question, to criticize, to misrepresent and to villify the politicians as a class.

I am perfectly aware that the tendency to belittle politicians has existed, at least in a limited degree, for very many years. I think that it was Carlyle who denounced all politicians as "Fools in frock coats" and some of you may be familiar with a very famous definition given by

Mr. Labouchere, a famous English wit. Mr. Labouchere was asked to define the difference between a politician and a lady. He said: "If a politician said 'Yes', he meant, 'Perhaps'; if he said, 'Perhaps', he meant 'No'; and if he said 'No', he wasn't a politician. If a lady said 'No', she meant, 'Perhaps'; if she said, 'Perhaps', she meant 'Yes'; and if she said, 'Yes', she wasn't a lady." (Laughter.)

These, of course, are but the opinions of men who were rebels in their day and I think that it is historically accurate to say that for many years in the past parliaments and politicians and public men were held in respect and reverence by the public in most parts.

The war seems to have brought a change. Why or how it brought the change is difficult to say, but the fact remains that to be a public man today is to be a shining mark. In the press, in reviews, in the popular novel and upon the stage, in the corner grocery and even in the pulpit, the politician is held up as a fool or a knave. There isn't a young man one year out of University; there isn't a young parlour Bolshevik, a lawyer, a doctor, a journalist or a plumber, who doesn't think he could run the country better than those who are running it.

Why is this? Just how much of this public attitude is justified by the facts? I have been watching parliaments and politicians for twenty-three years. Because of my duties as a newspaper man I have observed the functioning of six parliaments. I have seen the rise and fall of six ministries and I have had the privilege of knowing most of the leaders of our parties from Sir Wilfred Laurier, to Mr. Bennett, and because of what I have observed from a vantage point of criticism, I am convinced and profoundly convinced that most of the current criticism of politicians is untruthful, that a great deal of it is exaggerated, and most of it is criminally unjust. (Applause.)

Let us look (as Al. Smith would say) let us look for a moment at the record. One of the things we are constantly told in this country is that the politicians are inefficient, that they lack vision, that they have brought us to near-ruin, and that what we really need are more business men in politics to give us honest and competent direction.

Business men in politics! Well, as I have said, I have been watching business men in politics for many years and I think the time has come in this country when we should make up our mind that because a man may be successful in some business, that does not endow him with the talents to lead us in all human relationships, or to give us guidance in political problems. If there is one myth in this country greater than the myth of a strong silent man, it is the superstition that business men are invariably or necessarily successful in public life. The actual truth is—and I think I can be supported by the record—the actual truth is that one of the things wrong with the world today, and certainly one of the things wrong in Canada today, is that we have had too many business leaders trying to give direction who are not competent to give it. We have had too many business men interfering in government or trying to interfere to the detriment of the public weal. We are told that between 1925 and 1930 the politicians didn't see what was coming. Well, I ask you, Gentlemen of the Empire Club, if you think, in the light of what has happened in the last few years, whether the business men of this country saw what was coming? If you think they did and you don't want to become cynical, then I ask you never, never to go back and read the annual statements of our bankers and financial magnates — those pompous, pontificial statements they gave us during the past ten years. I have taken the trouble, myself, for a certain reason, to go back and read in newspaper files, the annual statements of our railway leaders, our banking leaders and our financial leaders, telling us what would happen in Canada, what should happen in Canada

—and if they were right in a single instance, I have been unable to discover it!

These were in the days of 1928 and 1929 and 1930 when all of us were offering incense before the altars of the Insulls and the Kreugers and the Lowensteins and before the alters of some other super-men, so-called, living not quite so far from home.

And what happened? Well, in 1928, 1929 and 1930, we counted that day lost whose sun did not rise upon some new trust company, upon some new holding company, upon some new financial proposal or promotion that was to make us all happy and rich. They piled trust company on trust company, and holding company on holding company, and some other kind of company on some other kind of company, and they built a Babel of Finance on a foundation of water and, finally, after they had bedevilled industry and bewildered themselves, the whole structure crashed down with disaster to most of us.

And these are the people who go around telling us that politicians and governments must keep out of business. O, we heard that cry in Canada in the years of 1928, 1929 and 1930—"Governments must not interfere with business". Do you know why they told us that? They told us that when prosperity was enabling them to make great profits and they didn't wish governments to intervene in those profits but when prosperity ceased, when the rising markets became a falling market then the people who talked about "rugged individualism" — the rugged individualists — became rugged "chissellers," they came to Ottawa like locusts to ask the government to save them from their own folly with public money and to give them special privileges and favours. The rugged individualists of 1928 and 1929!

The actual truth is that there is perhaps not a single case during the last five years where the interference of certain capitalists in government redounded to the benefit of the country.

Take the case of Great Britain. In 1931 England passed through a great financial crisis. They passed through the crisis successfully but not because of the help or aid or advise of her business men. When the two well-known politicians, Mr. Stanley Baldwin and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald went to the Bank of England and asked that great magnate of finance, Sir Montagu Norman for advice, he said, "Whatever you do, you must not depart from the gold standard". And he sent an economist, a Professor Clay, I think, to go to the British Broadcasting Company and tell the people of England that if they departed from the gold standard every stock exchange in England would be closed on the following day.

Well, England departed from the gold standard because of her politicians, held so much in contempt, and by departing from the gold standard saved herself.

In the case of the United States: There was a man in the United States—you may have heard his name of late—a Mr. Edward G. Mitchell—a colossus of finance in the United States. He was one of those super-men who go about telling of the dreadful things that are done by politicians. Mr. Edward G. Mitchell, Chairman of the New York National City Bank, was in the habit of going to Washington and telling the Senate and telling Congress what it ought to do about governing the United States and what it ought to do about balancing the budget. In 1928 Mr. Edward G. Mitchell's contribution was to sell 18,000 shares of the National City Bank to a friend—the friend turning out to be his wife—thereby evading the payment of his income tax to the United States in a year when his gross personal income was $3,000,000.

These are the people who are loudest in their shouting that the politicians are ruining the country and that we should turn the government over to the financiers, the capitalists and the big business men.

You will notice that the budget of the United States is being balanced by a man of great courage and ability—not by the captains of Wall Street and their advice, not by the business men or the bankers — by a plain, old-fashioned politician, a man who knows something about the traditions of responsible government. It is being balanced by Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

There is the case of war debts. We have been told, and I think with truth, that war debts are at the bottom of most of the world depression and they are at the bottom of the world depression because the creditor nation, the United States, has made it difficult for the war debts to be paid in the only way they can be paid, that is in goods and services. They have done that in the United States by raising their tariffs again and again. Why did they raise it? If you ask the average man, the politicians did it, the Congress and the Senate did it. Gentlemen, Congress did nothing of the kind! All Congress did was to react to the constant pressure of lobbeyists sent to Washington by the business interests of the United States—by those so-called supermen of finance. If you want the proof of that, take the official report of the United States Chamber of Commerce as published November 17th last. In that you see the conclusion that high tariffs in the United States are the consequence of business men — greedy, avaricious, short-sighted men who think a nation can go on selling without buying — men who compelled Congress to take the action they did.

Let us come nearer home and take our own Imperial Conference of last year—that Conference that met in an atmosphere of great hope—in an atmosphere which offered every possible hope of some vast and great achievement for the British Empire. That Conference did not quite fulfil the expectations of the British Empire or the expectations of those who called it. True, it didn't fail entirely, but to the extent it did fail, it failed not because of the failure of statesmanship, not because of the politicians—it failed because of the greed, the avarice, the short-sightedness of business men who flocked to Ottawa from England, and Canada as well, who could only see their own personal, private profit. And Mr. Amery, a former Secretary of the Dominion, summed it up perfectly well when he said: "This Conference had ceased to be a great gathering of Empire statesmen and had become an assembly of exporters with conflicting interests and aims."

But, we are told by these supermen of business to look at the Canadian National Railways and they say to us: "Look at what the politicians have done to this great legacy, this great heritage of the Canadian people." It may be that the politicians have visited injury on the Canadian National Railways. I ask you, as fair minded business men, whether anything the politicians ever did to the Canadian National Railways excelled in violence to the public interest what business men and certain capitalists in this country have done to a great national heritage like Beauharnois or another great national heritage like the newsprint industry of this country? (Applause.)

There is one thing of which I am certain: that no matter what may happen under public ownership, no matter what politicians may have done in the public ownership the things that happened to Beauharnois under private ownership and capitalist control, the things that happened to the newsprint industry of this country could not have happened had control been vested in the politicians of this country.

The truth is that business and government are two vitally different things. One is as wide only as the particular need of the particular interest of the particular industry, but government is as wide as humanity and, in the light of the events of the past five years, it is my firm conviction that the task of government to date is not to get business men to run it, but to keep business men, or a certain class of business men from trying to run it. In other words, one of the great problems before Canada today is not to save Capitalism from Socialism or communism, but to save Capitalism from certain capitalists.

And that brings me to the next count—to the charge that politics is corrupt. We are told all over this country—I heard it in a pullman train coming from Ottawa —that politicians in this country as a rule are corrupt and, again, what does the record say?

Since Confederation the politicians of this country have administered between four and five billions of dollars of public money. I challenge any man in this audience now to arise and tell me when any of that money was diverted from the proper channels. Well, one of you could rise. If you did, you would have to go back into a political history of more than a quarter of a century. I sat in the Press Gallery some years ago and I heard an Ontario Member, Mr. Porter, rise to move impeachment proceedings against a Minister of the Crown of that day. In moving that resolution, Mr. Porter said a very wonderful thing. He said that he had been hampered in drafting his resolution because of the fact that he couldn't find a precedent for the crime he wished to condemn. He couldn't find a precedent in all political history for the crime he wished to condemn. Mind you, the crime he wished to condemn was not the use of public funds for private gain but simply that a Minister of the Crown had used information gained in the Cabinet to save himself from financial loss.

Take the case during the War: During the War the politicians of Canada spent something like two billions of dollars. They spent the money in desperate haste; they spent it without experience to guide them; it was spent at a time when it was impossible for the public or for parliament to scrutinize the accounts and yet, despite post-war investigations, despite investigation after investigation by the opposition, despite investigations by people only too anxious to show wrong-doing, every enquiry was a glorious vindication of the honesty and the patriotism of the politicians. Yet, during all those years —years which, as I have said, were a marvellous indication of the honesty of public life, the critics of the politicians and the retailers of cloakroom gossip flourished like green bay trees.

There are four classes of people in this country who constantly assail politicians: First, there are the merely malicious, moved by partisan, or financial, or political reasons. There are the well meaning, unthinking people — people seemingly ready to swallow anything told against politicians as a class. There are the people incapable of distinguishing between gossip and rumour and demonstrated fact. And, finally, certain journalists, people of my own profession—people belonging to the underworld of journalism — who are more concerned with sensational statements and gossip than with the well-being of the government of their country. (Applause.)

In that very well known book, "Barchester Towers", Mr. Arabin says, "I know of no life that must be so delicious as that of a writer for some newspaper—to thunder forth accusations against men in power; to show up the worst side of everything that is produced; to pick holes in every coat; to be indignant, sarcastic, moral or supercilious; to damn with faint praise or crush with open calumny".

I have wished, though I do not favour censorships, that some tribunal existed before which these cocksure writers could be hailed to make good their accusations and charges which they level against our public men.

I have in mind a case which occurred during the War. There was in this country at that time an eminent Divine, a man whose pulpit influence made him known from the Atlantic to the Pacific. During the course of the War this man went in the pulpit and made the most outrageous charges against the government of the day. A committee of Parliament was sitting in Ottawa and he was brought before the committee. I was present in the committee room and when the statements made by this gentleman were submitted to him and he was asked to state in simple language what his charge was based on, do you know what he said? He said that what he had charged from the pulpit was told to him by a man he met in a pullman train between Toronto and Winnipeg and he didn't even remember the man's name.

But the great trouble is that for every lie that is nailed, a hundred go unanswered. They are swallowed by the public; they are seized upon by every discontented and every inefficient individual in our midst and they gratify, particularly that class which Disraeli had in mind when he said: "The defects of the great man are the consolation of dunces".

There are other critics of public life. There is the man who sneers at the "talking shop" on the Hill. There is the man who assures you that there is absolutely no difference between the parties. There is the chap who tells you that all the statesmen are dead and there is the man who, thinking it splendid to appear sophisticated or cynical, hints darkly that he has inside knowledge of some dreadful corruption.

I have met these people over a period of twenty years. I have investigated their statements and their standing and I assure you they are frauds to a man. I am not personally persuaded that the intellectual calibre of parliament is as high as it ought to be, and with about two thirds of our people too indifferent to vote, that in itself, is no miracle. I am satisfied that, taken as a whole, our politicians are at least the equal of their constituents, whether the test be morality, honesty, capacity or intelligence.

And there is something else. You hear people these days assailing taxation and saying that we have reached the limit and wondering what the politicians do with all the money they are taking from us. Gentlemen, the politicians have very little to do with it. Governments have no salesmen; what we are paying for in taxation we are paying for in goods and services that we got from the government and which we demanded from the government. No government came and said that we must have certain social services; that we must tie up four million dollars in highways; that you must have this, that, or the other thing. These things were demanded by the people. In all the years I have been in Ottawa, I have never yet seen a deputation come to Parliament Hill, demanding a government not to make a certain expenditure but I have seen parliament stormed, day after day, and week after week, by people demanding social services, branch lines or railways, or some other expenditure. These are the things that you are paying for now. You are paying for them because of yourselves and not your politicians, and I say in passing that the time has come in this country when the people of Canada must make up their minds whether they need these social services and if, needing them, they are in a position to pay for them. Doing that would be a sensible thing, instead of merely abusing the politicians.

My main point is this: Constant abuse of politicians, constant attacks upon the efficiency and the integrity of public men is having a bad effect in this country, resulting in the destroying of public confidence in our representative constitution and instilling in the minds of our younger generation that public life and all politicians are corrupt.

Everywhere we look in the world today we find representative government on trial—a Stalin in Russia, a Mussolini in Italy, a Hitler in Germany—these people proclaim the decline of democracy and representative government and I believe in all sincerity, unless and until the people of this country come to value more the things their ancestors bled to win for them, we, too, will be in peril of losing the heritage which for a thousand years has been one of the greatest things in the British Empire.

I recall a few years ago in London hearing that gifted novelist, Rebecca West, speak at Westminster. She told of the various governments that had come, had risen to power, fallen to defeat, and risen again with the hope of a new movement—although good men and bad men and corrupt were there, the fact remained, and the most cynical interpretation of history could not deny that most of the men who came there through the centuries had cared a little for the common good. It is the same in our own country. We have had good men at Ottawa and bad—and some of the pages of history they have made for us, we would gladly wipe out—but when the last word of censure is said, it still remains true that in the main, for the most part, most of our public men have cared a lot for the common good. Those who hold differently betray ignorance and malice and certainly invite peril. They invite the peril that has come to the great Republic to the south, where, largely because of criticism, muck-raking and fault finding, Congress has sunk to the lowest level within half a century. (Applause.)

OUR ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE ON MINING

AN ADDRESS BY MAJOR-GENERAL THE HON. SIR NEWTON MOORE

(Before a Joint Meeting of The Empire Club of Canada and The Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy)

April 6, 1933

SIR NEWTON MOORE was introduced by the President of the Empire Club, LIEUT.-COLONEL GEORGE A. DREW.

SIR NEWTON MOORE: Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen: May I first preface my remarks by expressing my appreciation of the compliment paid me today in asking me to address this joint meeting of the Institute of Mining and Metallurgy and the Empire Club, more especially as it gives me the opportunity of speaking before these very distinguished men interested in mining, and at the same time, the honour is accentuated by the fact that we have at this head table two very distinguished politicians. On the one hand we have Mr. Gordon, Minister of Mines for the Dominion whom I have had many opportunities of getting in touch with and who possibly thinks that I am somewhat of a nuisance. On the other hand is Mr. McCrea whom I haven't seen for some years but I well remember that during his visit to England some ten years ago I had the opportunity of being present on an occasion when he gave an interesting address on the mining possibilities of Ontario and I think it wouldn't do any harm if he repeated that visit at the present time in view of the prominent part that gold mining is playing in the world.

Now, Gentlemen, the Annual Meetings of the Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy are traditionally, I am informed, happy occasions of reunion, which old friends of the class-room, of field work, and mine and mill look forward to with keen anticipation.

On this occasion, as has been explained by your Chairman, your gathering is a joint one of the Empire Club of Canada and the Institute. It gives me special pleasure, therefore, apart from the honour you have done me in asking me to address you at this luncheon, to join with you in this hour of relaxation, as one who has filled administrative positions, and has had long association with mining enterprises in the Dominions and England.

My early training as a surveyor in Western Australia, and my later participation as Premier of that State in opening up the country by provision of light railways, which served miners and agriculturists in pioneer days, has given me a keen appreciation of the sequence in national development of the explorer and surveyor, the prospector and miner, the railway builders and the farmer.

It was my privilege as a youngster to fix the site for the shaft for the first coal mine in that country, as well as to locate, when in the Survey Department, Bayleys find from which discovery the development of the great gold fields of Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie followed. Little did I think when I gazed into that little hole in the ground some eighteen inches deep and from which gold to the value of £50,000 had already been extracted, that I was at the birth of an industry which up to date has produced £180,000,000 of gold and which under the stimulating influence of the increased price of gold plus the exchange premium bids promise of becoming once again one of the leaders in the gold producing countries of the Empire.

The sequence of the development of a new country is appreciated in such a company as we have today, and in Toronto, and to members of the Institute, I need only instance the building of the Temiskaming & Northern Ontario Railway through your northern clay belt as a classic Canadian example.

It was my privilege in 1930, after an absence of twenty years, to revisit my native land of Western Australia and to see the wonderful development that had taken place in the wheat areas during that period, and to note the well-built substantial township centres of business activity where I remember only tiny hamlets. In 1904, when I entered Parliament in Perth, we were importing foodstuffs, and now some 45 million bushels of wheat is available for export.

The differences of climate do not permit of exact comparison insofar as agricultural development is concerned, but I am told that the full agricultural settlement that comes last in the sequence of colonization is well under way along the line of the T. & N. O. Railway. The labours of the prospector have national repercussions that exceed the dreams of the most optimistic of that optimistic race to whom we are all so greatly indebted, the hardy pioneer and prospector.

For example, one of the largest copper producing mines of this country which members of the Empire Mining Congress saw in 1927 just emerging from the original wilderness, now consumes annually 100,000 tons of Nova Scotia coal, thus demonstrating how activity in one branch of mining reacts upon and stimulates another.

Your President-Elect, Mr. Balmer Neilly, in his own person typifies the energizing influences—chiefly emanating from your City of Toronto—that have created virtually a new Empire in Northern Ontario, the extension of which one is witnessing today as far as the Great Bear Lake and within the Arctic Circle itself.

It is superfluous—in addressing an audience of miners and students of Empire policies—to enlarge upon the imperial significance of mining, but perhaps as an old "digger" and as a confrere, you will permit me to refer to the Canadian industry that it is my task to direct and to link up in their significant national combination, the mining of iron ore, flux and coal, steel manufacture, and the mining of gold, silver and base metals that especially interests you in New and Old Ontario and along your borders in Quebec and Manitoba.

It is not necessary to enter into the ancient controversy of emulation as to whether pride of place in national importance shall go to Tubal Cain, or Abel, to the miner or the farmer. As this is part of a day off for miners, we may be excused if we blow our own horn a little, as an unaccustomed exercise.

If any nation—having natural resources of its own of gold and silver, metals, coal, fluxes and ores of iron—permits the importation of such natural resources, to the detriment of its own miners, and to the prevention of use of its own resources, it may exercise its choice and justify that choice on the grounds of "cheapness", but —and this is a very pregnant "but"—it cannot continue as a nation, dependent upon other nations, and yet free to climb the heights of nationhood for its sons, and its sons' sons.

Canada, like all other nations, is fighting hard to maintain her solvency, to assure the future of her young citizens and to keep their fathers out of the bread-line. But where would the Canadian trade balance stand, what would be the future of our boys and girls, what would be the extent of national relief required in Canada to meet the poverty that accompanies lack of employment, if out of Canadian soil no coal was mined, no silver or gold, and no base metals—if the coal of Nova Scotia were not produced to smelt the iron ores from our neighbour and sister people in Newfoundland — if the credit of Canada had not been buttressed by the gold output of Canadian mines? We can thank her mineral output very largely for Canada's solvency, for the comparative comfort of her people, but we would be more certain of solvency, and our people would be more assured of their means of livelihood were our mineral output—and more especially our coal output—nearer to the developed capacity of Canadian mines, and were our importations of minerals from abroad not so uneconomically and quite unnecessarily large.

For a number of years past the value of coal and iron products imported into Canada has approximated to and in some years has very much exceeded the value of Canadian mineral production. The Deputy Minister of Mines, Dr. Camsell, has on many occasions rightly emphasized the unsatisfactory and dangerous position in which such dependence upon outside sources places Canada. In his presidential address to the Engineering Institute of Canada, a few weeks ago, Dr. Camsell stated that "whatever may be the course of future development, it is a fact that Canada today fails by a very wide margin to meet her own needs either of coal, or of iron, or of crude petroleum".

The enterprise which is my main responsibility, and an onerous one, is the only one in Canada that mines both coal and iron, or that uses British raw materials in making iron and steel; namely, coal from Nova Scotia and iron ore from Wavana, probably, on competent authority, "the largest single reserve of high-grade iron-ore in the world."

I very gratefully take this opportunity to testify to the help that has been given by the Federal Government by transportation subventions, to extend the area of distribution of Nova Scotia coal. This assistance has been very welcome for two good reasons. First, it has kept coal-mining in Nova Scotia from collapse; and secondly, it has demonstrated the growing determination of the Federal Government to promote the use of Canadian coal in Canada which determination reflects precisely, I make bold to believe, the temper of the Canadian people.

I also take this occasion as an opportunity to express the appreciation of the coal-miners of Nova Scotia of the quick apprehension shown by the people of Ontario of the mutual advantages in a business way that accompany reciprocity between them and the manufacturers of Ontario in interchange of the products of labour, and of the sympathetic attitude extended to our salesmen.

Coal mining in Nova Scotia—and more especially in the Sydney area—is not a growth of yesterday. It is the oldest mining industry in Canada. Were the annual records of the value of the products of the mine in Canada reduced by subtraction of the value of the coal of Nova Scotia there would have been little left to record up to the end of the last century. The industries and transportation and the purchasing ability of the Maritime Provinces and Quebec have depended in very substantial measure upon the mining of coal in Nova Scotia, extending back now for well over a century. Perhaps it is news to some to know that coal from Isle Royal, Cape Breton, supplied the Royal Forges of France in 1687.

Canadian history would have trended very differently had we not a source of coal supply in the Maritimes. The coal mining industry has persisted, in spite of neglect and fequent discouragement, because of its intrinsic value to a federated Canada, because Canada cannot live without it, and continue to be the Canada we hope for; self-sustaining and economically healthy in each province because of mutual interdependence, mutual trade interchange and full use within our borders of our own natural resources.

Mining, Gentlemen, is not a monotonous occupation. Gold, as we have so often been told is "where you find it." Which means that gold exists where it has not yet been found. Which reminds me that a friend of mine, Sir John Kirwan, in addressing an audience of mining men in London last month said:

"One of the most remarkable things is that today, after so many years of what used to be termed close prospecting, gold is being discovered where it should not have been possible to miss finding it.

"The Eagle Nugget which was sold for £6,600, and was one of the largest pieces of gold ever found in the world, was unearthed by a boy in 1931 within eighteen inches of the surface at Larkinville. Thousands of men had been prospecting in that area, and carts had been to and fro over it in search of firewood."

In another district, Southern Cross, one of the oldest goldfields in Western Australia a new and rich discovery was found at the back of a hotel in the Main Street.

The world which had gone on steadily increasing its paper currency has been rudely awakended to the real value of gold. The demand for it has far exceeded the available supply. Gold was never before in so great a demand. There is no commodity in the world today that is so much prized by nations and individuals as gold. No matter whether a nation be on the gold standard or off it, it prizes gold. Gold is the only commodity that nowadays cannot be over-produced. There is an ever ready market for it at a price that has risen in terms of sterling from £4-5-0 to over £6 an ounce.

The chief gold producing mines of the world are within the Empire and the Empire's gold capacity is practically inexhaustible and Canada now is the second greatest producer in the world. The fact cannot be too frequently emphasized that the Empire annually produces some 72 percent of the world's gold production. In other words, the Empire produces very considerably more than twice the amount of gold annually produced by the rest of the world.

In conclusion, I believe we are only at the beginning of a huge gold mining revival throughout the Empire but capital is required to develop our great auriferous resources. Substantial success in gold production will facilitate the meeting of government financial commitments that must be ultimately met in gold. It will assist an improved balance of trade. It will supplement the stocks of gold supporting the paper currency. It will also increase employment. Gold mining is capable of absorbing thousands of surplus workers, reviving numerous trades and industries dependent upon mining activity, and assisting in decentralising excessive populations in capital cities.

Add, Gentlemen, to gold, coal; and to coal, iron; and permit, nay more, *press* the fuller development of these natural resources from Canadian mines, and you have the rock-ribbed base, the fundamentals of a Canada where our young men may see visions, with hope of fulfillment, sufficient to justify our fondest dreams. (Applause.)

COLONEL DREW: Before expressing the appreciation of this meeting to Sir Newton Moore for coming here today, I know we would all be very pleased to hear any remarks that the Honourable Mr. Gordon feels that he can give to a joint meeting of this nature, representing those primarily interested in mining and metallurgy and those interested in the problems of Empire. (Applause.)

The HON. W. A. GORDON: It was kind, indeed, of you to afford me an opportunity to visit you here today and meet you all in a gathering such as this. I won't say much because you don't expect me to say much and I don't want to disappoint you.

It was a great pleasure to me to have become acquainted with our guest speaker—Sir Newton Moore. He has undertaken the direct control of a huge industry in the Maritime Provinces. It will require a man of great capacity and great understanding and it will also require the assistance of many of us in order that his work in building up and making that great industry is the success it should be. Unfortunately, and I say this with a degree of diffidence, the Infinite Being, when he laid down the geography of the world, apparently left out of consideration the poor weaknesses of us mortals when we laid down our political boundaries, and our resources do not conform to the barriers that we, ourselves, have set up by reason of those boundaries and the task, or one of the tasks, that men engaged in mining and the development of other natural resources have to meet—a task of their own making—is to overcome the geographical boundaries and they are great in Canada. That is one of the tasks that our guest speaker, Sir Newton Moore, is confronted with at the present time. It is so easy to say that Canada has a great natural resource in its coal deposit, and to many who have only casually examined the subject, the wonder is why we should import coal when we have such an abundance.. Of course you men who are interested in mining, and others who are not, recognize and understand that our coal deposits are at the supreme ends of our political boundaries and the coal consuming areas are in the centre—that is in the industrial organization of the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, speaking generally.

To overcome those circumstances is one of the tasks that confronts our guest speaker and those working with him in that industry and which also confronts those interested in the coal industry in Western Canada. They can't overcome them alone. They must have associated with their efforts a very keen appreciation by the people of this country of the difficulties that confront that industry and to the extent that assistance can be lent to those who are directing that industry, it must be helped.

I am quite conscious of the fact—I am certain that Sir Newton Moore is also—that there are sections of Canada at the present time, at least, that can not be served with coal fuel from Canadian mines, but that is one of the problems that we can eliminate in a certain measure by that degree of co-operation which I think inspires us all from a Canadian standpoint at a time like this.

I don't want, Mr. President, to occupy any more time in saying these few words to you because it was not intended that I should speak at all. I only repeat that I am so glad to be here at a joint meeting of the Empire Club and of the members of the Institute of Mining and Metallurgy. I see among you so many friends that I haven't my usual diffidence in saying a few words in public which usually accompanies any pronouncement by me. (Applause.)

The HONOURABLE CHARLES MCCREA, at the request of the President of the Empire Club, thanked the speaker of the day.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND THE WORLD CRISIS

AN ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR REGINALD COUPLAND, C.I.E.

April 13, 1933

LIEUT.-COLONEL GEORGE A. DREW, the President, introduced the speaker.

PROFESSOR COUPLAND: Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen: It is with very great diffidence that I address this audience. I have the misfortune to be a professor, and professors, like prophets, are without honour in their own country. It is rather flattering to me to find so large a body of men who are playing a practical part in the world doing honour to this professor by coming and listening here today, but, as our Chairman said, it does so happen that my academic work has not been purely academic. Together with my study of the history of the British Empire, I have had the privilege of travelling over a great part of it, and of taking part from time to time in discussions of imperial policy. And so today I want to say a few things, to give you a few opinions for what they are worth—the opinions of an itinerant professor.

One thing I need hardly tell you: in the words of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald as spoken at Geneva a few weeks ago: "We can almost hear the structure of civilization cracking around us". Do we also realize that while this cracking, destroying process seems to be so dangerously at work, a quarter of the world—that quarter which lies under the British Flag—is wonderfully stable? To my mind, the greatest factor of stability in the world today, I hesitate to boast about my own country, but surely among the shifting sands of Europe, England is a rock. (Applause.) Is any state riding better the economic hurricane that is sweeping across the world? We have got over our gold crisis; we have balanced our budget; we have made our vast voluntary conversion of our war debt; we are paying what we owe. (Applause.) We are bearing unprecendented loads of taxation, but it isn't only the taxpayers who are showing what courage in England means. I am amazed at the patience of the unemployed. You know, of course, they have the dole, but you don't suppose, of course, that the dole means a life of luxury or pleasure. The dole has been abused. It has been less abused since the system was readjusted by the present government. But for the average British working man and his family, the dole is only just enough to provide adequate clothes and adequate food, and clothes and food are not enough for the normal British working man. But, strange, it does not break his patience—his having nothing to do.

No, England will not crack! And it isn't only her own strain that British statesmen are bearing. What about the rest of the quarter of the world? It is British statesmanship and British strength that has saved and is at this moment saving the three hundred and sixty million people of India from suffering the fate of China. Behind that iron shield we are hoping that India may be able in the course of the next generation to take her place, satisfied and friendly, in the Commonwealth of Nations. It is British policy and British influence alone that prevents the Middle East from being like the Balkans.

It is sometimes said that in India and Egypt our policy since the War has been a policy of defeatism and withdrawal. On the contrary, it has been a wise policy of adjusting ourselves to the new ideas and principles of the post-war age. And what is the result? We have established an independence in India; we have introduced her to the League of Nations and we have concluded with her the friendliest alliance.

In Egypt we have for some years past ceased to interfere in the internal politics of the country. The only reason that we have not concluded a final treaty of alliance with Egypt is because she insists on refusing to continue the existing arrangement for the government of the Soudan. As to the southeast canal, we have promised to withdraw our British garrison to the banks of the Canal, pending the better organization of the Egyptian army and we have said that in twenty years time, if there is still a need of keeping any British troops on the southeast Canal rather than leaving the Egyptian army to defend it, in that case we are willing to refer it to the League of Nations—a piece of wide idealism which I do not think has attracted the attention of the world as much as it deserves. All that has not weakened our position, or undermined the bulwarks of peace in the Middle East.

An old pupil of mine was travelling the other day through those areas of Syria and Palestine—I am afraid almost to say that he was travelling to inspect the methods of selling Ford cars (Laughter)—and he tells me—and that is just the sort of person who finds out what people think—that the prestige of Britain in all that country has never been so high and why? Because those people have discovered that when we promise to do a thing, we do it. (Applause.)

There remains, of course, the great call of the British Empire—that gallant company of equal sovereign states we have learned to call the British Commonwealth of Nations. There are observable here and there forces of disintegration—internal, some of them. It isn't so long ago, if I am right, that your Maritime Provinces were showing, to say the least of it, an uneasiness in the Federal structure. Natal, similarly, has been agitating for secession from the Union of South Africa. Western Australia demands the right to break away from the Commonwealth. And externally, as between one member of the Commonwealth and another, there is Ireland—to speak more accurately, the Irish Free State. I am not going to discuss the Irish controversy. I only want to ask you to believe—I am sure you will—though it may have been badly handled, though we must regret it and long for its termination, there are two sides to the case. Sometimes, from what one hears, one would suppose that in all the long, tragic sequel of Irish and Anglo-Irish disputes, the brutal Saxon England has always been in the wrong. That is not history. I would also observe this, that behind the controversy, and to me the most regrettable feature, is the avowed declaration of Mr. De Valera that he is not content with the status of Canada. He must be a proud man, it seems to me, not to be content with that, and he really desires to secede altogether from the British Crown because he is under the illusion, I am sure a genuine illusion, that only by so doing can the Irish people be really happy or really good.

There are also, but I do not wish to stress this, there are also murmurs here and there of academic disputations—about the right of secession, about the separation of the Crown into a group of personal kingships, about the possibility of neutrality in war.

Well, take all those forces of disintegration together, give them their maximum weight, and they matter, in my humble opinion, very little. I find no great body of public opinion behind disruption. People are not so mad as to talk about disruption, to work for disruption, to put difficulties in the way of co-operation, to try to find out and emphasize those little affairs where we may differ, rather than make the most of the great bulk of affairs where we agree. Such a course seems lunacy in the face of the world crisis—a crisis which surely should call us all together rather than break us apart.

The British Empire, in my opinion, has never been so strongly united as it is today. As a result of that process of adjustment to which I referred just now, as a result of the final culmination of what, academically, we call the "process of isolation", the Dominions were put, for all the world to see, on a footing of equality. It is a good thing, to my mind, that this unity is so strong because there are two features of the crisis—two special features of it which stand a little apart from the economic crisis but on which, not being an economist, I am not qualified to speak, which relate closely to it and which are primarily political factors and are threatening the main principles on which our political life is based.

The first is the attack upon Democracy. Democracy stands threatened in the world, on the right by Fascism, on the left by Sovietism. It is also attacked by those young, eager idealists who sometimes seem to me to think that nothing that existed before the War or before they were born is any good. To them, Democracy is just one more of our poor old moth-eaten Victorian illusions. Well, Democracy, let us remember, is still very young; in the true sense of the word it has only come into being in our own day. Infinite possibilities lie before it which have not yet been tried. I do not maintain that it is a perfect instrument of government as practised anywhere today. Clearly, it has got to adjust itself, like any other piece of political machinery to the movements of the age. It may have something to learn even from its enemies. I dare say that we might learn something of a closer communal spirit from the Soviet and by communal spirit I do not mean Communism. We might learn something of the value of the state from Fascism—something perhaps to check that excessive individualism which is notoriously the danger of Democracy. It may be that a prior task to making the world safe for Democracy is to make Democracy safe for the world.

Now, Democracy, though exposed to these dangers and to these criticisms, seems to me to be standing the storm pretty well. I can not speak for France— the only country left among the great countries of Europe which is still democratic. It is standing the storm in England. What of the United States? I had been told that American Democracy might easily crack if it were exposed to excessive strain. I was told that there were unstable, rather influential elements in the population that might give trouble in a really serious emergency.

Well, I landed at New York on March 4th. The impact of my personality on the United States was even more disturbing than the impact of George Bernard Shaw. (Laughter.) I had scarcely landed before all the banks in the United States were closed. And, so far from observing or hearing about any of those hysterical phenomena which I had been told possibly might occur in an emergency, I found myself again in almost exactly the same atmosphere as that of London in 1931, when we had our great crisis of falling off gold. The same sobriety and steadiness—anxiety, of course—but nothing like a panic and that, it was clear from the newspapers, was the case all over the United States. So, surely—and it is difficult to exaggerate what a strain on the nerves the closing of all the banks is—it is a danger which your banking system, to the obvious envy of the United States, has prevented—since it has stood that strain, I can think of nothing which American democracy will not stand in future.

We are told again that Democracy is only saving itself by education, and as a matter of fact it is giving away under the stress of the world storm to dictatorship. What nonsense! It is the great merit of Democracy that in a time of emergency it can so stretch the elastic of its organization as to put into power a strong government and keep it there.

The position of Mr. Lloyd George during the War—but observe this, it makes my point: not after it—the position of President Roosevelt today; the position of the National Government in England, with its great majority behind it in Parliament—these are examples, not of dictatorship but of leadership. Observe that they are not the perpetual domination of one class or of one party. Observe, that in due course of time, each one of these tyrannical dictators will have to answer again at the bar of public opinion. Observe that throughout the period of this iron rule, the press, the free voice of criticism is not stilled. Of course, those are not examples of dictatorship. On the contrary, it is just the acceptance of such leadership in a crisis which is the strength of Democracy.

As a don, as an historian, as one who once used to read and teach the classics, I cannot help going back to Thucydides and his expression of perhaps the first and greatest democracy in the history of Europe. "Democracy", he said, "is the choice by the people of the best leaders and the following of that choice when it is taken."

I believe, as you see, in Democracy. To that extent, I am Victorian. But I confess that it is threatened and that fact is the first of those two major reasons which I am putting to you for maintaining not only the unity of the British Empire but maintaining also, the closest cooperation between the British Empire and the United States.

I spoke of a second threatening factor in the world today, of a political character and I meant, of course, the attack on that system of collective international cooperation which we are hoping has left behind it forever the old international anarchy of pre-war days. Well, it is only too obvious that the whole of that post-war system centered around the League of Nations is under an attack from the revival of the old-fashioned, unregenerated—I almost said "barbarous"—nationalism. We all believe—I take that for granted— that in the League of Nations lies one of the great hopes of the world and I am a little disturbed to find, both in the United States and in Canada, a wide spread suspicion that the British Government is really no friend of the League.

Now, it occurs to me that that "false suspicion"—for it is wholly false—may arise from a mistaken understanding of the personality of a very distinguished man who is a Fellow of my College at Oxford—Sir John

Simon—and I think it might help to remember that Sir John Simon is one of the most brilliant advocates of our day, and since it is the duty, even of a British Foreign Secretary, sometimes to state both sides of the case, he states them both so well that he leaves us in doubt sometimes as to which is the side on which he stands himself. But believe me, instead of England being no friend of the League, I am not sure that she is not the only friend the League has in Europe.

Look at the other great powers that sit at the Council Table. Is Japan the League's best friend? Is Italy? Is Germany? I hope, I believe that France is a friend of the League but I sometimes wonder whether her friendship isn't coloured by the desire to use the League to maintain intact the Treaty of Versailles. And I am tempted to think sometimes that England is certainly the surest, perhaps the only safe friend that the League has in Europe.

And, remember, when you hear attacks on British policy as regards the League, the fact of her loneness. The smaller European states are always clamouring for a foreign policy to maintain the sanctity of the Covenant, for the application of its essential principles, and so forth and so on. Well, who is going to apply them? When they talk about keeping the sanctity of the Covenant, of maintaining the peace in the Pacific or elsewhere—I should be surprised to hear that the Swedish navy was to be invited to undertake the task. I should be no less surprised to hear that Hong Kong is a colony of Switzerland. No, isn't it something like the process, vulgarly known as "handing us the baby"?

At any rate you see the need of caution. You see the possibility of a situation arising where England, in defence of the League, finds herself almost isolated. It sounds paradoxical, but it is the sort of thing that might any day occur in Europe and because of that, if we want to save the League—to repeat the old "cliché", which I suppose has been repeated some thousands of times in public speeches — if we want to save the League, we should "call in the New World to redress the balance of the Old". These smaller states in Europe — Belgium, Czechoslavakia, any one you like—are theirs the only voices we are to listen to about the League and all the problems that create the crisis of the world? The population of Canada is far greater than that of Belgium; the population of Canada and Australia combined is greater than that of Czechoslavakia. I, for one, would be glad to hear, above that discord and babel of foreign tongues, the voice of Canada reaching across Europe in unison with the voice of lonely England. Above all, I would be glad to hear the mighty voice of the United States.

Now, I am drawing to an end. I speak, as I said at the beginning, as a don; I have no contact with the art of practical statesmanship but surely, it is for the ordinary thoughtful men all over the world, in a crisis so great as this, to make the weight of his opinion such as is felt, how and when he can. And, as an ordinary man I do feel two things very deeply. I do not wish to be an alarmist. I think sometimes the idea that war is coming has a little touch of panic about it. I don't think that anybody really wants war in Europe. It would be folly to suppose that anybody in England wanted war, any more than anybody in Canada.

I think that this talk about the breaking up of the League is just the sort of talk that we can oppose. We should say, not that the League is breaking up, but that the League shan't break up, and as I look at this crisis, without, I hope, exaggerating it, I do feel these two things: that our real hope, I almost think our only hope of emerging from the clouds lies in the closer, more active, more vocal, if you wish, co-operation of the democracies of the British Commonwealth; and, secondly, the closer co-operation of the British Commonwealth with the United States.

I picture to myself, mankind, impoverished, distracted mankind, being led back to peace and security and thereby also, presently, to prosperity, across an archway built up of British-American friendship and co-operation, and the great granite keystone of that arch is Canada. (Applause.)

SHOULD BROADCASTING BE CONTROLLED?

AN ADDRESS BY MAJOR GLADSTONE MURRAY, M.C.

April 20, 1933.

LIEUT.-COLONEL DREW, the President: Before introducing the speaker, I should like to express the sympathy of the Empire Club to the family of the late William Darby, who, almost from the beginning of the Club, was one of its active members, and who for many years was one of the faithful members of the executive committee of this club and was one of the most faithful in attendance at all gatherings of the club. His loss is a very serious one to all of us and I know that every one of us will remember him with the deepest affection.

The President then introduced the speaker.

MAJOR MURRAY: Mr. Chairman and Members of the Empire Club of Toronto: It is a very great privilege for me to be here today. I am sorry to confess that the last time I was in Toronto was in 1911, and, as I was reminded by some friends in Montreal, I was trimmed twice—I was beaten in a mile race with the University of Toronto and I lost a debate. It no doubt had a good effect in keeping me humble—it was good for the soul, but not so good for the glory of the "Red and White". Nevertheless, I am glad to be back, despite the warning I had that Toronto would give me a very adverse reception on this particular subject. In fact, I was told that I should take a bodyguard, but on reflection I decided to accept the hospitality of my very good friend, the Warden of Hart House and I have survived the dangers of the situation, though I believe Mr. Ashcroft *is* here. (Laughter.)

The British service broadcasting is exemplified chiefly by the British Broadcasting Company and I should like to give, briefly, a picture of the British Broadcasting Company and then suggest, with certain essential modifications, that Canada is being well advised in accepting that principle.

The British Broadcasting Company was founded about ten and a half years ago. In the first place it was an association of private national manufacturers of radio apparatus. They were given a limited license by the British Government. They were given a monopoly and it was understood from the beginning that they were to administer broadcasting, not for purposes of gain but as a public service. From the beginning the experiment was successful and I think that the best way I can explain that is to outline to you some of the principles of British broadcasting.

Last year, in the period of 1932, $13,000,000 was collected from listeners. Of that amount the state received $7,000,000 profit. The corporations received the balance of $6,000,000, supplemented by $1,000,000 profit on publications. Five and a quarter million listeners paid their license fee. They represented a listeners' constituency of certainly not less than 30,000,000—probably more.

The Radio Times, the weekly radio paper has a circulation of two and a quarter million. 93,000 hours of program was provided. In addition a broadcasting house was completed at a cost of $3,400,000. The short wave service was instituted at a cost of $200,000 and there was a current expenditure of $250,000. a year.

I am giving the figures precisely because I want to make it clear that public service broadcasting, based on license revenue from the listeners is in no sense a charge on public funds. In fact I believe that it is demonstrable that it is the only way to enable broadcasting to be conducted in accordance with the public wish and at a profit to the public treasury.

What are the essentials? What are some of the essentials of its success? Every year the British Broadcasting Company has increased its license revenue. Between January 1932 and January 1933, 990,000 new licenses were registered. And that is the box office. That is the proof, because there is no essential reason why the listeners should subscribe if the service is unsatisfactory.

British broadcasting in 1924 and 1925 had become so important that the state decided to reconsider the conditions. The work of the first company had been completed. It became desirable in the public interest to set up a corporation. This did not mean government management. It meant remote control by the government and business management. The whole of the apparatus and staff were taken over and a Board of Governors set up to exercise remote control but not state management, in the ordinary sense. It was an essential part of that constitution that it should be non-partisan and I need only instance this: that Mr. Baldwin, Prime Minister of that day, in selecting the Chairman of the Board of Governors for the King, chose Mrs. Philip Snowden, at that time the wife of his chief political rival.

Apprehensions are current here about the difficult subject of what the public wants. It has been suggested that British broadcasting corporations give the public what it thinks it should have and not what the public wants and that misapprehension is based upon this great fallacy—that if you are going to give the public what it wants you must not appreciate its view; you must depreciate it, and I am sure you will discover in Canada, as we have in Great Britain, that you must skilfully arrange and constantly raise your standard of program. Don't think the public down—appreciate their views. That is the only way in which you can give them what they want. The only way in which it can be done satisfactorily and in accordance with public desire is through public management. Appreciate, and not depreciate, is a cardinal point of the administration of radio broadcasting.

Program building is a difficult task. It requires great skill and a great knowledge. It requires the sense of alternatives. I was asked the other day what was the most popular program in England to the average listener. There is no such thing; there can be no such thing. The average listener requires the average mood to be met. He requires alternatives—on some occasions, good symphony music; on other occasions, instructional talk and ethical guidance. The problem is scientific and it must be analyzed and met accordingly. It can be done only through a controlled system of broadcasting.

The lesson of 1926 in Great Britain has an important bearing on the problem of controlled broadcasting. I happened to be in charge of the relaying of the news bulletins during the general strike, when you recall that all the newspapers were withdrawn. I do not suggest that broadcasting was responsible for averting a revolution but I do know that broadcasting was responsible for killing rumours that might have been very dangerous to the stability of the state. It was the only means of distribution and it replaced effectively those other means of distribution which were withdrawn in the national emergency. That is, in these difficult times, a very important point to remember in connection with the control of broadcasting.

Canada's problem, of course, is quite different from the problem of Great Britain and I would be the last to suggest that there should be any slavish copy of the British system because Canada has a vast area of scattered population and local interests have to be considered. Canada's broadcasting must be developed on unique Canadian lines to meet the exceptional Canadian needs. I do suggest that, as Canada has by statute, accepted the principle of public control and as the Commission has been set up, that the first thing is to give the Commission a fair chance and I am not sure that they are getting it. Fair play and opportunity is the first thing.

And the second point is this, and it is another current misapprehension: It has been suggested to me that the broadcasting systems of the United States are antipathetic to the Canadian Broadcasting Company. That is not true. When I was in New York the other day I conferred with Mr. Aylesworth, head of the N.B.C. and with Mr. Paley, head of the Columbia system. They are not antipathetic. They are anxious to see a third great chain of stations on the American Continent.

In the peculiar circumstances of Canada it is not possible, of course, to create a broadcasting system without investment, though I suggest that it would be the ideal. But investment you must have, to a limited extent.

Newspapers are expressing an anxiety which was also expressed in Great Britain in the early days of broadcasting. It was looked upon as a potential rival and a danger but their mood now is completely changed. They have discovered that broadcasting and the printed word can work in co-operation, provided there is a kind of statesmanship on both sides—a recognition of the possibilities of a partnership in public service. The newspapers in Canada need have no anxiety about national broadcasting. The two systems of distribution can be dovetailed, provided always that there is a sense of understanding of their relationship.

With regard to the license fee—we say in England that the license fee is really a form of contract between the listener and the broadcasting organization and I think that applies with equal force here. It is a fallacy to suggest that the money from license fees, devoted to broadcasting, comes from taxes. It is a form of agreement, a contract between the individual and the broadcasting authorities.

And the next point is simply this: There need be no antagonism between existing broadcasting organizations and the Commission. So far as I can discover, the Commission is very well disposed to existing organizations and proposes, not only to work amicably with the newspapers but also with privately owned broadcasting organizations and endeavour not to hinder but help their development and in that way to provide constantly improving programs.

Imperial and international implications of broadcasting hardly need emphasis. I would like to instance this to show one aspect of nationally controlled broadcasting. On July 1st, Dominion Day, we have been planning to receive in Canada, under the auspices of the Commission a national program which we shall distribute throughout Great Britain, the whole of the rest of the Empire and throughout the parts of Europe that desire it. That will be the next great Empire program—the first sequal to the Christmas Day program. If you did not have in existence some system of control, by so representative a body, I doubt very much if you could have received that program.

On Australian Day next year, it is being arranged to take an Australian program and redistribute it throughout the Empire and the world and we hope that it will be acceptable to Canada. This is a very important implication, not only in the sense of international interest, but in consolidating the Empire and developing a better understanding. It is much better, in my view, to arrange programs to give characteristic Imperial and international viewpoints, rather than having a propagandist talking about the danger of international operations and the danger of war.

We, in Great Britain, look forward to the First of July—I hope, I believe that the attitude of the Commission is favourable. We shall arrange to distribute the program to about 300,000,000 listeners throughout the world—across one section. The world is becoming smaller every day. Incidentally, this is an additional argument for enforcing and accepting the idea of controlled broadcasting.

Now, what about the ethical, the educational aspects of this problem? I received today a copy of the current British Broadcasting Company's Syllabus and I should like to run through the subjects: Agriculture, Farming Talks, Art, Designing, Modern Life, The Cinema, Drama, The Stars in their Courses, Theatre Reviews, The Economist in the Witness Box, Pioneers of World Exploration, National Lecture, A Week Abroad, Gardening, Health, Cookery, The International Housewife, Languages—French, Italian, Spanish, Literature, Readings from Classical Literature, General Reading, Reviews of New Books, Novels, Local History, Music, Pilgrim's Progress, God and the World through Christian Eyes, the Animal World, Science in the Making, Pioneers of a Humaner World, Slavery, Sport, India, The Week at Westminster. Those are selected from the current syllabus. You could not manage to provide such a wide assemblage of subjects or to appeal to such a diversified public unless you had a system of public service broadcasting.

And now, finally, I should like to revert to the point I made earlier: that is to say, the effect on national consciousness and national stability. That is of the very greatest importance. As I said, when broadcasting from New York, I think the declared intention of Canada to establish public service broadcasting is a normal sign—a symbol of a developing national consciousness. More than that, it is an admission, a recognition of the necessity in these times for controlling such a means of distribution—for identifying itself with a national consciousness and a guarantee of national stability, a recognition that this is not, or should not be left entirely to the caprice of private enterprise but should be finally under the control of the State, not under the control of any party, but the State, as the State.

And that is the view I should like to leave with you as being the most important element in the case for the control of broadcasting in the public sense—but not government management of broadcasting. (Applause.)

THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

An Address by MR. PHILIP GUEDELLA

May 18, 1933.

Lieut.-Colonel George A. Drew, the President introduced the speaker.

Mr. Guedella: Mr. Chairman, My Lord and Gentlemen: Let me add to the kind remarks of my introducer, that today's gathering will, I hope and believe, be a pleasant reminder to you of those other occasions to which he alluded, in that not only you hope the meeting will draw to an early conclusion—your speaker also hopes that it will draw to an early conclusion, not out of any disinclination for the pleasure and honour of your company but, because, as I travelled eastward across this great Dominion, the one thing that is of tremendously good augury for the unshakable future is the fortitude with which its hardy settlers endure the brutalities of public speaking. This appears to be the one region of the world in which audiences hurl themselves, breasts forward, to the spikes of advancing speakers and ask for more! (Laughter.)

Gentlemen, it is very bad for the character of your guests, however valuable your spiritual directors may find it as an endurance test of their own. (Laughter.)

Let me say how much I appreciate the honour of your invitation to be here today. The recognition which it confers and the recognition—if I may turn proudly to a memory of last night—conferred by such an audience as I was privileged to address in the great hall of your University—is a recognition which no man who lives by contact with the men who are his fellow creatures can fail to set a high value on. There is only one form of recognition—and which I am, I hope, this moment in receipt of—which I value more highly, and that is of having my works burned in Germany! (Laughter.) As I sordidly explained last night in terms which may possibly commend themselves to some of the less elevated members of the community who may have crept among you unawares, that is a form of recognition that I value the more because, when Germany passes back from delirium to sanity, they will have to buy another set!

Now, Gentlemen, I told you that I value your invitation and I do, and I value it the more because I don't deserve it. I haven't the slightest claim to address such a distinguished gathering as this in this centre, because, unlike distinguished Englishmen who come to you, I speak for no one but myself—I fill no official position.

There is only one possible difference that I may draw between myself and the majority of the visitors from home. I take it that the greater number of your visitors come to you from the east, straight out from England, and the visitor to Canada straight out from England, I believe, gets the perspective of Canada wrong, as compared with the man whose route has followed the course that mine has. I have been away from my home since the month of January. I have spent the winter and the spring—if that sudden process which takes place with an almost audible click on this continent may be dignified by the name of "spring"—I have spent the months since January, partly in the United States and partly in Mexico and I have come up through California in your west and our west.

That means that, instead of saying, as the visiting Englishman is so apt to do when he comes straight from home: "This and this, I see, is different from what I left in London". I have been four months away from London and I feel that "this and this and this" in Canada is British and that I am not on my way home but I am home already!

That is the only claim I can make to the slightest distinction from those more eminent men who have addressed you on greater occasions—that, in spite of the fact that it is dignified by the proceedings of your Annual Meeting, (Laughter,) whose expedition of procedure might profitably be copied by all other legislative bodies within the Empire. (And I have observed no dissent from your respected Prime Minister.) (Laughter.)

Now, Gentlemen, I venture to think that such visits of perfectly plain, undistinguished people, just citizens, are of some service to our common enterprise of an Empire because it is not good—I am not sure that it is even altogether possible—that we should get to know one another wholly by the interchange of visits between our great men who occupy great positions of state. I speak with all possible respect, and most of all to this table of great men who occupy great positions of state and I have already made it plain before another assembly that any remarks that appear as a derogation of those engaged in politics relates entirely to those engaged in politics in Great Britain, because my respect for Canadian public men is of almost unutterable profundity. Indeed, my respect for some is even greater than my respect for others. (Laughter.)

But I suspect there have crept into this great gathering one or two who, like myself, are just voters—I won't add the painful description "taxpayers", as well, and it is right that we, the ordinary citizens of the Empire, should get to know one another and look one another squarely in the face, and I am not sure that that particular posture of the eye is always attainable by great public men on great public occasions because one eye, at any rate, is sometimes a little apt to stray off the shoulder to see how the followers at home are taking it. (Laughter.)

I need hardly repeat, that my comments are confined entirely to the British participants, but we, the ordinary people of the Empire, owe it to one another to get to know one another as well as we possibly can. That is why I am so grateful to the Council of National Education for enabling me to make these rapid but very friendly, and some of them very intimate, contacts, just as I was grateful twenty years ago when a young man at Oxford, for the genius of Cecil Rhodes for enabling some of us to make contacts with you of the Dominions which lasted through life on both sides of the ocean. (Applause.)

You may have thought, as a great audience, I believe, thought last night, that I should never succeed in coming to the point of my observations. The President, on my right, will bear witness that I disappointed the audience by coming to the point, and I hope, if my powers avail, I shall equally disappoint my present hearers.

My point—and it is truer of the Empire than anything else in the world—my point is that for us there is no line drawn, no line that can be drawn between the past and the present because the past isn't just a thing that ends, as I said, like an American winter with a click and then it is summer. The past and the present are things of which the strands are inextricably intertwined, most of all in the make-up of our very modern and very ancient Empire which always defeats its criticis and its ill wishers by being full of an ancient tradition when they thought they were going to hustle it into some silly novelty, and being more up-to-date than them when they thought the whole thing was tied up with tradition. (Laughter.)

Now, Gentlemen, I venture to think that there never was a time when we, of the Empire, could look each other, as I recommended we should, more squarely in the eyes, because of the developments in our recent past which affect our present.

What I mean is this: In the recent past and in the distant past of our Empire, our relations with one another—and they were happy relations, uniformly—were regulated on those principles which the lawyers present (and I was, myself, a lawyer before I took to a more respectable way of life) advise their more unscrupulous male clients to regulate their relations with too fascinating ladies—and the principle is that the British Empire was to put nothing in writing. And, very happily, we got along on that basis.

I am bound to confess, as a traveller returning from the United States, and a very profound well-wisher of the United States—no Englishman, no Canadian, no man in the world can ever afford in this interlocking world to be anything but a well-wisher of every other nation in the world, least of all, if I may be personal, as one interested in the last survival of export trade—that of English prose (Laughter.)—nothing I saw during those months was so interesting to a constitutional lawyer as the return of the United States to monarchy in the last two months. (Laughter.) Nothing that I saw there made me a convert to the points of a written constitution.

For the first two months, during January and February, I saw the affairs of a great nation at a great moment of its fortune, and with it, your affairs and our affairs and the affairs of half the world held up by the arbitrary objections of that Constitution which is the one genuine antique in the United States. (Laughter.)

But, in spite of that, Gentlemen, a few years earlier, it was decided, by the wisdom of our Empire in conference that we should be endowed with something in the nature of a written constitution. It was written—I won't say in invisible ink but—very largely by the philosophical intelligence of that great statesman, Lord Balfour, and that document was known to us at home as the Statute of Westminster. I am not here, in the presence of distinguished lawyers and leaders of your public life, going to attempt to explain the meaning—if it has any—of the Statute, but there is just one point in it on which I would invite you to brood for a second—a point which is not, I think, generally apprehended. The point which is generally apprehended is that that Statute was put in the form of law, as good lawyers always do—something which everybody had known for seventy-five years previously—and that was that you, the Dominions, are equal with us, the Mother Country, but what it also provided and what is not, I think, so generally apprehended, is that now, under that Statute, we, the Mother Country, are equal with you, the Dominions.

There is a great deal in modern and social emancipation to show that daughters are now as free as their mothers and I sometimes think that a movement might be set on foot for ensuring that mothers should be as free as their daughters, so far as our common enterprise is concerned. That is not law and that is why we can now look one another more squarely in the eye than we ever could and tell each other exactly what we think of each other.

Well, Gentlemen, what *do* we think of each other? We know what you think of us.

Let me tell you one or two things: One rather unfavourable sample of the British voter is the person who can never be persuaded to do the square thing by Canada —unlike the Canadian voter who can always be depended upon to do the square thing by Canada. What does one British voter think of you?

Well, now, gratitude and appreciation of conventions apart, I will pay you the compliment of saying what is really in my mind. Canada has been naturally and inevitably and rightly, a very great deal in my mind within the last few months, not only because I knew and was eager in the knowledge that I was to have a chance of visiting the Dominion, but also because I was in the United States during those weeks of tension and turmoil which ended in the week's closing of every bank in that great Republic—an event, if I may say, of which the grave significance appears to be in some danger of escaping even the acutest minds in the country that was subjected to that terrible test. I cannot help feeling if the United States had contained a larger element of that Scottish population among which I now live and move, there would have been a deeper apprehension of the moral gravity of permitting the banks of a country to close for a week. There is a tendency to ride a little too gallantly, I think, from that terrible and significant event, but during those days Canada was much in my mind because, moving up and down the States, listening to conversations in railway trains, conducted on that more social pattern that you in this country prefer, in which it is impossible not to listen to conversations, I never got away very long from the name of Canada because in every one of those conversations, sooner or later, a man said, "The banks have not closed in Canada", and at that moment, believe me, it was a matter of some pride to an Englishman to be able to claim some small degree of relationship with you.

And, Gentlemen, in all seriousness, believe me, nothing has done more to impress the world, outside of your borders, with the stability and the soundness and the wisdom of your building—a slower building, it may be, but a more stable building—than the comparison between the destiny of your financial institutions in the dreadful winter that has passed and the fate that has overtaken apparently greater institutions in another country.

Be careful to understand me: I am not rejoicing over the troubles of another country. None of us are foolish enough to do that but I am saying that your slower rate of progress and your sounder achitecture and your deeper foundations have found abiding testimony in the events of the blasting winter, economically, of 1933, and that, any citizen of the Empire is entitled to take pride in.

Now, you won't get from men of my age and generation anything except Imperialism, for the simple reason that I am of the generaton of people who, as small boys at the time of the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria, were boys at that time the Empire passed into the stage of pageantry and we were boys only a little less small at the time of the South African War when the Empire passed from the stage of pageantry into the stage of sacrifice and fourteen years later we were still young men when it passed into a still deeper stage of sacrifice.

Now, from people of that age you won't get anything except faith in the Empire because of the facts and the surroundings and the air we have breathed since we were born and trained. As for us, we don't argue about the Empire; it is like the weather—we acquiesce in it. It is there. And the important thing for you to realize is that in England faith in the Empire is not a matter of party creed with this party or that party. I have no party opinions when I stand here, outside of my own country. It is a thing common to all of us. There are things that we disagree about. There are things that you disagree about, I hope. And above those things we all disagree about in our respective countries is our faith in each other and our faith in a common undertaking.

It would be fatal if you were to let us believe that faith in the Empire is a matter of one group of Canadians, however public-spirited and however sound their political principles, because it is not true. And it would be equally fatal if we were to let you believe that faith in the Empire is a thing confined to any one group of Englishmen, because it is not.

I am a man of political opinions at home which are a matter of importance to nobody—not even to the people I have asked to return me to parliament from time to time. My views are not, on all sorts of matters, identical with those whose faith is as strong as, *but no stronger than* my own. I am not here to talk politics. If I am here in any character, it is as an historian, but there is one observation I can't help making as an historian. I think that the function of the historian in public life, and I believe he has one, is to offer—I won't presume to say to Canadian politicians, because the book of history lies open before them—which way up it is, I don't know, but it is open (Laughter)—but if we offer to our own masters at home such guidance as we can on events of the past, we may help them to guide their path through the more troubled events of the difficult present.

One simple fact about the past sometimes chimes in my mind with a rather unpleasant note. It is this: that only one Empire in the past ever elected to build itself upon a basis of strict, rigid and inflexible relations. That was the Empire of Spain which you will not find on the map if you look for it today. I suspect that that is a broad lesson which may be of some value to some of us. I don't put it forward today in that sense; I put it forward merely to show you the opinions of a man whose opinions on means may not be the same as many in his own country and yours, yet who believes the end, which is the keeping together and the greater power of our Empire, is the one thing we must attain. (Applause.) Let us argue about the means; there is no dispute as to the end. (Applause.)

As to the end, I would only say this: I believe that so long as the word "Empire" remains as it has been for a hundred and fifty years, synonymous with opportunity, it will go unchallenged to greater strength but be very careful how you make the word "Empire" synonymous with restriction of opportunity, because then you will set critical minds to work in your own community and in other Empire communities beyond the sea.

You have your great future; we have our great future. I never believe in this nonsense about an old country and a young country. All countries are the same age—about between forty-five and fifty which is the age of those of the people responsible for most of the vital decisions in them. Our two young countries have their great futures. Let us see to it that we do nothing, either of us, that is going to restrict the two great futures of those two young countries. Let our ships draw together to ride out the economic storm but let us do nothing that drives either your ship or our ship off the natural course. Now, that is a lesson of history—a lesson of Spanish colonial history. (Applause.)

One other lesson I would like to offer with all humility which I believe the historian can offer to the public men of the world and it is this: Public men in and outside the Empire should not run away with the idea that because they are facing great problems, they are, themselves, great men. No one in this room, except the trained historians and the Prime Minister—who is the receptacle of all knowledge—can tell me who was the Prime Minister of England at the time of the Battle of Waterloo. He faced a great problem; he was the man who won the war—Lord Liverpool. No one had ever heard of Lord Liverpool; Even Lord Liverpool had hardly heard of Lord Liverpool. And who were the Chancellors of the Exchequer—no one is greater in our day than the Ministers of Finance—in those days, who were the Chancellors of the Exchequer who led us through the trials and troubles which faced us after that war? Who has ever heard of Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Robinson. They were great Chancellors.

I would like the names of Lord Liverpool and of Vansittart and of Robinson written among the names of all the great men of the past today, so that our public men would recognize that what they owe to the world is to take council of what is best in their country and not to run away with the impression that because they are facing great problems they are, themselves, supermen.

Good Heavens, a little man standing with his back to a great wall of rock with a blazing wood fire in front of him, will find that the higher the fire leaps, the taller is the shadow of the little man cast on the rock, but he is still the same size. (Applause.)

That, I believe, is a lesson which might be learned in every Cabinet and every Chancery in the world, today. Nothing is more awful than the monomania of personal greatness which seems to be hurrying what was once a great and civilized country that we all respected, although we fought it, and fought it hard, down a terrible slope back into the Middle Ages, and that is Germany. There is a country which has apparently decided that the best way to go forward is to go backward—backward down the familiar slope of religious and racial persecution. Now, Gentlemen, we can't stop any country from going to Hell its own way, but we can, at least, say what we know and that is, if a country follows that path there is nothing to stop it except the bump at the bottom and when it gets there it will find the pieces of Spain which went the same road four hundred years ago.

That is a terrible piece of personal mania from which we hope that what was once an intelligent people will soon clear its eyes and clear its mind.

My own disabilities—they would be in Germany; as I happen to live in the British Empire, they are merely my pride—puts me in a position of some special delicacy in referring to that situation, but I would like to say this and it is for you to realize it: Your Jewish fellow citizens in the British Empire are watching the governments of the Empire and the churches of the Empire and the decent public men of the Empire, to see how deeply and genuinely you feel resentment of this set of outrages. We are watching. We have seen the consciousness of Christendom flame into indignation over the persecution of Christians. We are waiting to see whether you equally resent the persecution of people equally religious, but of another faith. I say that in all seriousness because, to us, it is a very cruel time and a very testing time.

We have no difficulty in reconciling our loyalty to our own faith with loyalty to the Empire. No faith has any difficulty in reconciling its loyalty with its British loyalty.

But I can not help saying what I have, not only because of the time, but because of that personal mania, that pitiable object which appears to be erected as a substitute for Odin or whatever God Germany now worships, and which indicates so admirably what I wanted to say to you about the importance of public men not letting themselves go to their own heads in moments of national crisis.

Now, Gentlemen, that is a lesson which the historian can teach the public man out of his silent records. That is the very humble duty which I want the historian to render and it is, in the sense of that public duty, a very small one and very ill-performed, that I have tried to talk to you today.

And, let me end as I began, by expressing my extreme appreciation of such a hearing from such a gathering. (Prolonged Applause.)

An Address by THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD MacMILLAN

September 11, 1933

At a special joint meeting of the Empire Club and the Canadian Club, the guest speaker was the Rt. Hon. Lord MacMillan. Lord MacMillan was introduced by the President of the Canadian Club, Mr. Harry Sifton.

THE RT. HON. LORD MACMILLAN: I read, some time ago, in one of those books about law, prepared for the use of the layman, this sentence: "Judges are human beings." I was much relieved, as myself the holder of judicial office, with this remark. When the author went on to say that judges are not only human beings, but persons of superior intelligence and ability, my opinion of that author leaped with bounds of approval. But, surely, Gentlemen, one will pardon me, I could be neither more nor less than human not to be appreciative of the delightful reception you have been kind enough to give me and my colleagues here today.

You have been good enough, Mr. President, to refer to some of the darker pages of my past life. (Laughter.) It is unusual in a merely friendly gathering, to rehearse such topics. But as you have kindly referred, also, and quite too extravagantly, to my merits, I can only recall that delightful story of the gentleman who went up to a negro and said, "Can you lend me ten dollars?" The negro beamed on him and said, "I ain't got ten dollars but thanks for the compliment all the same." I feel that I "ain't" got all the qualifications you were so good as to appropriate to me, but thanks for the compliment, all the same! (Laughter.)

Now, of course, I see expectant faces around me, all waiting for me to make an important pronouncement on Canadian banking. I can assure you that you will all be disappointed. I am too discreet for that! I know that indiscretions are far more attractive than discreet observations, but in this matter, I am afraid you must await our published report.

So, being a discreet person, I wondered what topic I might address you upon. I am going, if I may, to select a subject to which I attach enormous importance. It really is complementary to the subject of the Royal Commission over which I have the honour to preside. We have been considering throughout the length and breadth of Canada in every province we have visited, difficult, intricate and interesting questions of finance and commerce. These, no doubt, especially in the difficult times through which we are living, are matters of prime concern. But, I am sure I have your assent to this: that they do not represent the whole of life, however important a part of life they may be. And for a few moments, I would ask you, today, to turn your minds to a different branch of commerce and that is the commerce of ideas.

I attach even more importance to that form of commerce than I do to material commerce. I believe, profoundly, that the best of all possible preparations, even for a business bargain, is that those who are about to bargain should understand each other, should sympathize with each other, should have a common background of intellectual and spiritual interest and to my mind, one of the most important things in these days is to have, not merely an economic, not merely a financial revival, Gentlemen, but what I can only call an ethical revival. I am convinced that you require, even more, a Royal Commission on such topics than you do on banking and commerce. But, fortunately, we don't require a Royal Commission for these things. These matters can be dealt with much more happily and less formally by other avenues of approach and it appears to me that one of the most useful things we could do is to see that, in matters of the mind and the spirit, we re-establish intercommunication among the nations of the earth, perhaps, most of all, among our own people in the Empire and revive a new and different spirit than in the merely trafficking—I was going to say "huckstering"—spirit which, to a large extent has dominated our interest.

Gentlemen, one great advantage of the commerce of ideas is that there is no question of free trade or protection there. There is free trade in the commerce of the mind and the spirit throughout the world. There is no question of quotas, none of the cumbersome mechanism of adjustment of quantities or qualities as between nations and between people. There are no frontiers to the intellectual ideas; no embarrassment to the free passage of the things of the mind and, therefore, in that branch of commerce, one escapes from the region of bargaining and all are eager and willing to share the common heritage of the mind. To that I attach, in these times, immense importance. I sometimes think that our sense of values has got a little upset. We are inclined to attach far too much importance to merely material things. At the end of the day, surely we will all agree that the thing difficult to achieve is happiness. Happiness consists really in the exercise of your gifts and capacities in the sphere in which they are best capable of manifesting themselves. Interest and happiness in life are the things we all really care for. Everything else is only a means to that end and I think that we have rather gone astray in our valuations and have been inclined in these times to attach too much importance to the merely material things and to disregard, to some extent, those other things which, without money and without price, are, after all, the most precious of all possessions.

And, so, it may seem strange, Gentlemen, that as a Chairman of a Banking Commission, engaged in considering problems of finance, I should venture here, in this great gathering of business men of Toronto, to turn aside for a moment to a topic such as that and I do so, if I may say so with a certain measure of relief, for it is not good for any man to be entirely preoccupied with the things of this world. It isn't good for a Minister; it isn't even good for a man of business. My experience has been that the bigger a man is, the simpler he generally is in his outlook on life and as one goes on and meets people with a large view of life, the more generosity you find in their outlook, and the less tendency to boggle over financial questions, while these questions take their proper place and perspective in life among persons able to place them in their proper position.

That may seem very queer talk on the part of the Chairman of a Banking Commission. While I think that the simpler things of life are frequently over-looked by all of us, don't think that I don't attach the utmost importance to the mission entrusted to us.

We have had an amazing experience. I venture to say that I have seen more of Canada than many of you in this room. To have visited every province in Canada, the capital of every province and other cities as well and to have spent fourteen nights on the train and to have had other experiences of a somewhat disturbing character is no mean achievement, but, believe me, it has been amazingly educative, for me at least, and amazingly instructive. We have been able to make a survey of the whole Canadian position and then, to speak of your trains, it has been an advantage because it has brought into contrast the very diversified conditions of the different parts of Canada. We have been able to form a composite picture of the economic scene.

Now, we come to Toronto, the last city of our pilgrimage until we come to Ottawa, bringing our sheaves. I am not sure whether I ought to repeat the text by saying "rejoicing"—at any rate, we are "bringing the sheaves". And the next process after the sheaves are gathered is the separating of the wheat from the chaff—a metaphor understood by Mr. Brownlee, who is from the West. I won't say how much is wheat and how much is chaff. I won't speak of the value of the wheat. We have a very large measure of valuable grain, I am sure, and we shall now sit down to study.

May I be allowed to turn to two topics in connection with the commerce of ideas. One, I think, is really of great interest to you all or ought to be, and what I want to say is this, that in London, England, we are, at the present moment, embarking upon a great scheme of imperial education. The University of London has at last emerged from its original condition of being that most objectionable of all things, a merely examining body. It has a new constitution and has proceeded to embark upon a great career which involved the erection in the very heart of London of a series of institutions destined, I think, to become the very clearing house of the things of the mind and intellect in the Empire. We have acquired there a free hold, ten and a half acres in the very heart of London. Anyone familiar with real estate questions, knows what ten and a half acres in the centre of London means. It is in close proximity to the British Museum, probably the greatest storehouse of the material of learning in the British Empire. It is close to various other great institutes of learning. University College is, I am sure, represented in this gathering by several graduates. King's College is close at hand. The London College of Economics is not far off. In short, the great edifice is to be constructed in the heart of London and will find itself in the very centre of what one may call the intellectual sphere or region of the metropolis. We intend to establish a series of institutes for the promotion of higher learning, not merely for London, not merely for the Empire, but for the world. The Institute of Historical Research, already in being, is an institute where any man may come—from Canada or Australia—who is anxious to pursue his study in regard to the early colonial history of Canada or Australia, will at once have his studies directed and every possible assistance given to the exploring of the record office and other archives of our country which we share in common. If he is interested in art, the Cortauld Institute of Art will be placed at his disposal where he can converse with the best artists of today and have every opportunity of pursuing his studies. If he is interested in oriental languages, the new Institute of Languages will enable him to acquire a knowledge of Singhalese or Bantu or any of the other languages. He can go to the Institute of Public Health and there study, with the stimulus of colleagues interested in the chemical study, all the problems of modern health. If he is interested in education, there is a new Institute of Education which is a rallying force for the whole Empire, where men may meet from time to time, rub ideas together, and obtain all the stimulus that that means.

I have only given in a sentence, some conception of the great clearing house we propose to establish in London. It may take a generation to do it, but it is the conviction of every one of us that, just as the Bank of England has been regarded as the great centre of finance of the Anglo-Saxon world, so London shall rise as a city famed for its learning, as have the other great capitals of the world—something that shall make London as great in matters of scholarship of the mind and spirit, as she has been great in matters of finance and government.

That is a great conception, Gentlemen, and it is a conception that should interest and I think, will certainly interest everyone in this room. It is to complete the equipment of the British Empire, to complete the equipment to which all of us can resort for the pursuit of those things represented by the commerce of ideas.

That is one topic on which I meant to say a word today.

The other topic is, possibly, of more immediate practical interest to you, and that is to say just a word about the human factor in industry. I happen to be President of a body in England which rejoices in the name of "The National Institute of Industrial Psychology". As our neighbours over the border would say, "You spilled a mittful".

Despite the somewhat pontifical and portentous name of this society, it is one of the very greatest possible interest to all who are interested in practical industry. Just let me tell you what its aim is. Its aim is to study the human factor in industry as contrasted with the manufacturing interest. You will agree that the last half century has seen an enormous advance in the technological improvement throughout our country but less attention has been paid to the human factor in industry. The perfecting of the mechanical side of our factories and all our industries has been carried to a very great extent, but far too little attention has been paid to the human factor—the study of the human being who, after all, must be in charge of the machine and must actually carry on the industry, and this association has, for its purpose, the study of those problems. It does this in a very practical way and to illustrate, there is nothing better than giving an example:

One of the big restaurant people in London, as you know, is Lamb's—a name pretty well known throughout the Empire. Lamb's found that they were having an extraordinary large breakage bill. Every month there was a huge bill for the breakage of cups and saucers served to the customers. They invited the assistance of practical men who formed part of the Association. We sent down two investigators who proceeded to study the conditions under which the girls carried the trays into the restaurant. They discovered a certain corner in one of the passages and located most of the smashes there. It was suggested to the managership that they have the corner fixed. They replied that they had never noticed anything there, but the outside observer noticed at once the weak spot. And they observed a corner on the table—those corners just happened to make the difference between having a certain percentage of smashes and a lower percentage. So, by examining the conditions under which the girls worked and by suggesting little things that didn't occur to anyone—just the sort of things you don't notice—the breakage bill of that firm went down several hundred pounds in the course of the year. They actually were able to bring down their overhead by a substantial amount.

We were asked to look over the factory of a big firm of confectionery manufacturers. There was a great deal of discontent among their workers. The girls were not healthy or happy. Our investigators went to watch the conditions under which the girls filled the boxes of chocolates. The boxes were filled with different kinds. Our investigator said, "Don't you see the difficulty the girl has in getting the particular kind to put in the box? For the second row she has to stretch somewhere else and so on. For every chocolate placed in the box, a muscular action is involved and a certain amount of irritation results." An arrangement was made so that they could take each one in a rhythmical sort of fashion so that they could sit down half an hour and stand half an hour. In short, the whole psychology of the situation was studied with the most amazing results. The work done was nearly double and the irritation disappeared. The manufacturers came and reported that we had worked almost a miracle in their business.

These are the kind of illustrations that you must study—not only the maintaining of the physical side of your business, but you must also study the human factor and this association is beginning to carry out a great work in that department, valuable not only in the element of increasing human happiness and comfort, but also, which will appeal to you Scotch, very important in the profit and loss account. It is also being used in other regions. In His Majesty's Post Office, conditions under which the sorting of mail took place were studied. It is the making of the rough places smooth and getting rid of the irritations which we all know.

You might say, "Why can't people do these things for themselves?" They don't. It is perfectly certain that every person has a mirror at home that won't stand at all at the angle he wants it to when he is shaving, and for the last fifteen years he has been taking a hair brush or something behind it, just because he won't get a tradesman in to put it right. You go on suffering that daily irritation. There are many such things—a drawer won't open, a key won't quite fit—all these things you tolerate in your own premises. When someone comes along and points out how it may be fixed, you take notice.

This association is one which might interest many of you in Canada. Its purpose is to get rid of those waste motions and in that way increase the element of pleasure in work. The whole thing is to make work interesting and pleasant. If you once give the people interest, you solve the whole problem. The difficulty in so many of the technical processes is that we have lost interest. Men don't get interest and happiness out of work. This is one of the means of bringing that about—by preventing the sources of irritation.

I have taken a lot of time with these two topics. They are both related to each other, both related to different factors in our life, not merely the financial factor of which I say nothing, but the human factor and the realistic factor. You will forgive me if I confine myself to those topics today.

I know that the real difficulty with after dinner speakers is what is known in railway language as "terminal facilities". I noticed a moment ago an appreciative look on the faces of some of my audience because they saw the welcome signs of a peroration approaching.

I just have to tell what I always tell—one Scotch story: A young lad in a Scotch village used to walk out with his sweetheart night after night but never came to the point of really asking her to marry. At last one evening under the influence of the summer twilight, he said to her, "Jeannie, will ye marry me?" She said, "Aye, Jock, I will". And then dead silence fell between them and they walked solemnly and sedately home. As they came to the door of the cottage, she looked up a little shyly and said, "Ye have not owermuch to say to me, Jock". Jock answered, "I ha' said owermuch already". (Laughter and prolonged applause.)

The thanks of the Canadian Club and the Empire Club was extended to Lord MacMillan by Major Baxter, President of The Empire Club of Canada.

THE INDIA OF TO-MORROW

AN ADDRESS BY DIWAN BAHADUR MUDALIAR

September 18, 1933

At a special luncheon of The Empire Club of Canada, held on Monday, September 18, 1933, the guest speaker was Diwan Mudaliar, former Mayor of Madras and leader of the Indian delegation to the British Commonwealth Relations Conference.

In introducing the speaker, MAJOR JAMES BAXTER, the President, explained that Mr. Mudaliar was substituting for The Honourable Mr. Justice Roche who had been scheduled to speak but, owing to a train accident, had found it impossible to be present.

MR. DIWAN MUDALIAR: Gentlemen: Though I am a very poor substitute for the gentleman who was to have spoken to you this afternoon, I deem it the highest privilege I could be afforded in my short stay in Canada that I should have this opportunity of speaking to you and speaking, particularly, on a subject which I have, to the limited extent I have, dedicated my life—the future of my country, not merely internally but in foreign politics, as well.

I do not know what impression you have of India and Indian conditions, but judging by the very meagre newspaper reports I have seen during the past fortnight of that country and, in fact, many countries in Asia, I do not think it is inaccurate to say that most Canadians must have a very hazy idea of India and of Indian problems. We are so far remote geographically! And we are so far apart in many other ways. Racially, we are apart. Though in India there are many millions who speak the

English language, we can not claim affinity, and, culturally, we are supposed to be quite distinct. But anyone who has followed the life of our country and its various peoples will find an harmonious unity throughout the whole that makes for the betterment of human beings.

I propose to describe briefly what we hope will be the position of India in the future. "The India of To-morrow", as I have ventured to suggest as the theme of my subject to you.

India is pulsating with new hopes—the same activities that you find in every other country have been the activities of India. No country in the world is the same today as before the Great War, and it is a truism that the youth of the country is continually striving to find for themselves that expression and responsibility which in every nation they try to strive for. In India, more than any other country, this aspect has to be emphasized because, owing to no fault of theirs, historians deal with the Indian problem in a way that is a travesty on the East. It is spoken of as "The Unchanging East"—the affairs of the world having no effect on them and making for no progress among them, as making no tangible change in their manners and customs and their outlook on life.

I frankly suggest that if you want to appreciate the Indian situation, you have to get rid of the idea of an unchanging East and realize for yourselves that it is the East which is most rapidly changing because it is changing more differently from the past than any other country.

Take my own country, for instance. There are many conditions that existed in India before the War which I do not recognize at present, though an Indian myself. You have been accustomed to hear of women in India going about in veils, in purdah, isolated and not able to take part in the public life and their faces not visible to the male eye. Millions of women have been brought up in this isolated condition in India, apart from one half of the human population of India. It was perfectly true before the War and to a certain extent it is true in some portions of India today, but the changes that have overcome Indian women is something that is indescribable.

You have heard of the civil disobedience movement—the movement started by the Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Ghandi which agitated for a better political status for my country and resorted to methods which some deprecated. In that movement you may be surprised to learn, out of about 60,000 people sent to jail, not less than five thousand were women and they were women drawn from the highest of castes — women who never have gone near a penitentiary even for a minor visit — women who formerly would not have been seen walking along the streets but who would have considered it a loss of dignity and lowering to their prestige if they were seen by male eyes. At the public meetings, thousands of women gathered together and they addressed the public meetings and were arrested by the law officers of the government of India and imprisoned. It is impossible to put the women back in their former place, however much we, as men, might like to do so. They have established already their position in the public life of the country and say what you may, they are ready to play their part in the social and political development of my country. That is an arresting fact which has to be taken notice of.

Take the class known as the depressed or the "untouchables". Some say that it numbers about seventy million; and some say sixty millions. I think as the member for Madras in the Indian Legislative Assembly, I might put it at somewhere about thirty millions. But that is a large figure in itself. The position of this caste was something very pathetic about fifty years ago. They had no place in the civic life of the country; they had no place in the political life of the nation. However inadequate may have been the political aspirations of my country, a great stimulus was given to the movement introduced for the first time that that body have representation in the legislation and today, owing to the discussions of the various sessions of the Round Table Conference, the untouchables are going to have a fairly prominent part in the various provincial and federal legislatures in India. In my own province there will be thirty representatives of the untouchable caste and you can easily realize the effect of groups together in various legislatures. And you, in Canada who have adopted your form of federal government and your distribution of office, having always in mind the various interests of groups and always the desirability of getting as many groups represented as possible, will easily understand how the large group of thirty members in the Madras legislature will be a very considerable force in promoting the welfare of their caste and in doing away with the social anachronism which still exists in some parts of the country.

You have been told that there is a great deal of political discontent in India. I admit that there is but I wish you could realize the exact nature of that political discontent. The political contentment which exists amounts to much more than the extent of the discontent which exists. One agitator that speaks out gets more publicity than a thousand men who feel that everything is going along all right. I should not like to give the impression that the people in India are, in the masses, entirely satisfied with the present state of affairs. Indians of all classes and all political sections and creeds are anxious to be in their own country what other people are in theirs—to live to the full stature of their manhood which will make them respectable citizens and when they travel abroad, they will feel with other members of the Dominions that they are equal co-partners in that great and glorious enterprise the British Commonwealth of Nations.

I should not like you to think that India is essentially seditious or that she wants to get out of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Here and there an individual may express such ideas. Here and there, if there is some agitation, it is merely for the glory, or for purposes connected with individual interests. There might be some resistance offered, but I want this to be impressed on you: India is as anxious to be in the Commonwealth of the British Empire and as anxious to play its part in this great federation, as any other dominion can possibly be and it is not merely a question of sentiment, although sentiment does come into the question. You may think that sentiment only exists among those alike in race, in religion and culture. I venture to doubt it. You have only to look at the history of the world. Men of the same race fight each other. Men of the same religion have been at each other's throats. Often, in our own histories, we have had men of the same culture coming into conflict with each other.

I don't want to affect our "commonalty" if I may venture to call it, but I venture to say that is another reason why India should take its place in the Commonwealth. After all that may be said about the Kingdom of Great Britain, there is this outstanding fact, throughout the history, with occasional lapses, perhaps, it has strived for individual liberty and individual freedom, and has built up a tradition which makes it the protector of smaller nations and communities, based on ideals of justice and equality and independence. (Applause.)

India and Indians realize this. India and Indians feel in this present state of the history of the world, the policy of isolation is impossible. No country can be isolated, however great it may be, nor can a nation be isolated long in world politics. The United States is realizing that more and more today. If that is not the case where you have a powerful state with great resources, you can easily see that a country like ours, great as the population is, great as its resources are, follows the history of the world in the preparation we are making, not for isolation but for co-operative effort. Since the Great War, it has been borne in on us as never before, that, neither economically nor politically, can we be isolated, We feel, if we are to enter any world federation at all, partnership in the British Commonwealth of Nations is the best co-operative effort possible. If that is so, we are anxious, more than anxious, as I said before, and every party in India is anxious that in playing our part in the Federation we must have our status recognized. We must have our status in the Commonwealth of Nations; we must have the freedom and independence to manage our own affairs in our country which is the first essential to making the contribution successful. How else can we do it? Can we do it if we are to have the whole of our affairs directed by people six thousand miles away? In the first place, it isn't necessary. Differences of opinion, racial prejudices and creeds constantly attack the British, merely because they are British, however well they may be acting in our country. Good government can never be a substitute for good self-government.

Canada was founded, about ninety years ago. You had good government but you weren't satisfied with good government; you wanted self-government. You felt that you could not rise to the full stature of your manhood without having a state in which you ordered your own affairs in your own way. While, therefore, our adherence to the British Commonwealth can not be doubted, and princes of the governments of India have emphasized it over and over again, if the test should ever come again, the people of India will come to the help or the assistance of the United Kingdom just as much and as far as they did in the Great War of 1914. I say, therefore, that sentiment is there and can always be relied on for the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth, generally. But we do feel that the time has come when we must have the same status as other dominions. We do not seek too much progress before we know where we are and therefore, the New Constitution provides that in certain spheres of activity—those of external affairs and defence—it might be well for a transitional period to go on as now, but in other internal affairs, India must have responsible government and have its affairs directed by responsible ministers.

If we might turn from our relations with the United

Kingdom to our relations with the sister dominions of the Commonwealth, I would like to say that India would like closer associations with the various dominions. India would like to feel that she is understood by them and would like to understand their qualities and their statesmen and their attitude toward industry. I do not want to complain—there is no good in complaining—but I do think that perhaps our point of view is not understood. Our manners, our customs, our habits, our methods of life are not understood, just because there is not that close understanding between the two dominions—there is not the opportunity for coming into contact with each other, or the personal contacts which go a long way toward establishing a real understanding and mutual cooperation.

It was only the other day, in New York, that I came across a film exhibited in one of the cinemas—"India Speaks". I have forgotten the name of the writer—he was a well known traveller. I went in to see what kind of a film it was. Believe me, a grosser caricature of the habits and customs of the Indian people could not have been displayed. One of the statements made was that women do not take part in any religion in India because, according to the religion of the Hindu and the Moslem, women have no souls. You don't know the religions of India. No religion that has lasted for hundreds and thousands of years could have survived if that were the principle on which it is founded. If you find Hinduism adopted by two hundred and fifty millions and Mahommedanism by no lesser section, it is a travesty to suggest that women have no souls according to that system.

I am speaking for the Hindus, themselves. We feel that religion has been conserved by the women even more than by the men and that the busy man is likely to forget religion, that the man who wants to be a successful businessman or politician is likely to forget the eternal verities of the Hindu religion, but it is the women who try to carry out the great responsibilities of family life who are much nearer God and the Hindu religion than man very often is.

And, if I might say so, India is such a vast continent, its ideas are so many, that a presentation of any part or section while accurate in its presentation of a part, as a presentation typical of the whole life of the Indian nation will be a gross travesty. You have heard of a set of people known as Animists and whose religion is animistic. If you taken an account of the life of the animist and attempt to portray it as typical of the whole of religion, you will certainly have a very wrong impression, though in itself, a fact. It is extraordinarily difficult for those who go on a mission of globe trotting for a few weeks to come back and present India as she is, the diversities and variations of India being so many.

I do not want to suggest that anyone consciously does an injury to India. I do venture to think that those who have not had the opportunity to play their part in the Indian land, or to get into touch with the people of India can not be in a position to portray India accurately.

What do we want? We want to realize that this Commonwealth of Nations of the British Empire is a reality, that it is a living thing and to do that, we realize that greater contact with the various dominions is essential. We have to understand Canada and Canadians and the Canadian point of view, even as you have to understand India and the Indian point of view. It is perfectly true that you have more Canadians in India who have spent their lives there than we can have in your country. Many missionaries have gone out and have established themselves in various parts of India and have done their level best to promote happiness among those they are serving and I should like to take this opportunity of paying my humble tribute to that set of glorious men who, coming from their own country, have thrown themselves wholeheartedly into the life of the people and have tried to promote the Christian church, promoting the life and welfare of the people whom they serve. We are grateful to them. India is a land of promise. You hear of Hindu and Moslem conflitions of religion. Believe me, nothing again, can be a grosser caricature of the real truth. It was in India, years ago, that the first settlement of Christians, persecuted by the Romans, came over and settled themselves on the west coast of my province and called themselves the Syrian Christians. It was about eight hundred years ago that the persecuted of Asia came over and settled themselves and today they are known as the Parsees and are the richest and most influential persons in my country. There are a hundred thousand of them only, but their importance and prosperity in the whole of the economic life of the country is not at all comparable to the small numbers of their population. So, from time to time, these people have come over and the Hindu, generally, has tolerated their existence.

There has been no hostility against Christian interests and the propagation of your faith. Some of us do not believe it is necessary to take that religion, and if I bring a message to the audience, I would like to say this: It is not by conversion and the counting of the heads of those Christians that you are really serving the country. It is much more by the transformation of the ideals and the life of the people that you bring about by your own life that you must continue. If I might be a little more explicit: Many of us have been educated in colleges run by Christian missions. I, myself, was a student of the Madras Christian College, run by the Free Church of Scotland Mission. I have read the Bible, the Old Testament and the New. I have been inspired by the Old Testament; I have been invigorated by the New Testament. I have heard the Professor in the College discuss the Vision of Saul of Tarsus in both a subjective and an abstract way—just as dispassionately as that. While I have no intention of turning from my faith and while I expect to be a Hindu to the end of my life, I should certainly be ungrateful for the opportunity I have had if I should not say how deeply interested I have been by my contact with the Christian faith. But it is not of the conversion of the heart but of the conversion of the life of the people themselves, that the missionaries have to think. It is not so much in the conversions, in the number of baptismal ceremonies—there are a few people converted in that way but I suggest, very respectfully, that there are great numbers who are able to understand the ideals of Christianity and the great ideals of the Lord, perhaps much better than the numbers of people in out of the way places who are living under miserable conditions and who are baptized by hundreds in a day, and, perhaps, in many cases have been induced by the fact that here and there they may get the grant of an acre of land for pasture and cultivation.

Well, Gentlemen, I was bound to say this because, during the past few months a great controversy has taken place in my country—whether, if India ever attained the status of a dominion, there would be toleration of the Christian faith and would Christians be allowed to do their work. I venture to state, and many politicians have stated that there would be no hindrance in that matter at all, so far as they could see there was no reason why the great work could not be carried on in the same spirit.

Only one word more: I said that it was essential that we should try to understand each other, that the great ideal of the Commonwealth of Nations, functioning properly, could best be secured by an interchange of representatives of the Dominions and by trying to understand it. Canada will be much nearer to me when I go back than it has ever been before. I have been privileged to have a glimpse of the life of your people and to understand something of their aspirations and I shall certainly feel ever after, in reading any item of news of Canada that I am nearer to the people of this province and this great Dominion than I have ever been before. It is so with Australia or South Africa, or even the Irish Free State, if we could establish personal contact, if our Commissioners and possibly our High Commissioners were engaged in trying to represent the ideas of each Dominion in a better way than they have before, there would be a closer understanding between the Dominions. The very conception of the British Commonwealth, then, and the coherence and the solidarity required of the British Commonwealth of Nations, demands that each unit plays its proper part in world politics, and that great coherence and solidarity will bring about the greatness of the British Empire, and the British Commonwealth of Nations will assume a greater aspect and become a more living factor in making for world peace than ever before, to the glory of that Empire, based on equality, justice and co-operative efforts, constructing for each other happiness and trying to understand each other. To that great British Empire, let us all who put any thought on the future of the world and world peace, consecrate our life and our efforts.

And, believe me, whatever you may hear, India will play her part absolutely with the same spirit and in the same manner in which any other dominion is willing to play its part in this great task. And when we remember that that great task is not merely the consolidation of an Empire, but the task of so utilizing the opportunity to make it effective in world politics and make it impossible for a war to be waged in which humanity is sacrificed as it was during the Great War, that is believed to be the task, I think, whether white or coloured, whether we belong to one dominion or another. All who believe in the great ideals of Christianity which are, I believe, the ideals of every truly great religion, will believe that task not unworthy of ourselves and in the consecration of that great task, we shall discharge our most faithful duty to our Creator. (Prolonged applause.)

THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

AN ADDRESS BY VISCOUNT CECIL OF CHELWOOD.

(Before a joint meeting of The Empire Club and The Canadian Club)

September 21, 1933

In introducing Lord Cecil, MAJOR BAXTER, the President of The Empire Club, stated that the Clubs were doubly honoured in having also as their guests, Captain James Mollison, and his wife, Amy Mollison.

LORD CECIL: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I should like to preface my observations by expressing my thanks to Captain and Mrs. Mollison for their presence here this afternoon. (Applause.) It shows, I am convinced, their interest in the great cause of peace, and of such advocacy of peace, it can not be said that it is due to any lack of personal courage.

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have undertaken to speak to you about the Commonwealth and the League. They are, in their present form, recent developments, though no doubt in one sense, the Commonwealth has existed for many years, but in its present form which I will describe in a moment, it is quite modern; and the League of Nations, though it also has a very long history behind it, yet in the realization of the aspirations of many generations of thinkers and well wishers, that realization has only taken place in the last fifteen years.

The Commonwealth and the League have many differences but they are great institutions whose existence is dependent on the fact that they are both striving for the betterment and improvement of mankind. I will not admit that in this respect the objectives and purposes of the Commonwealth are one whit inferior to the objectives and the purposes of the League of Nations. (Applause.)

Now, we speak of these institutions—they can be called institutions. What exactly do we mean by them? The Commonwealth is, in its present form, a group of independent, autonomous nations, bound together by a common allegiance to the Crown, by a common tradition and still more, as I think, by common aspirations. The Commonwealth stands, as I see it, with the great cause of ordered progress throughout the world and, particularly, throughout the Commonwealth, and is based on the great principles of justice and of liberty. The nations in the Commonwealth form part of the League of Nations on exactly the same footing with exactly the same rights as those of all the other nations which are members of that institution.

You will all remember that when peace was made at Paris after some little discussion it was agreed by all those who became members of the League of Nations that the self-governing dominions and India should be admitted as members of the League of Nations with full rights and privileges in that respect. They had their full rights and privileges and, conversely, of course, they are bound by all the provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations of which they form a part. They are bound in honour and by their signature on the Covenant to carry out the purposes to fight—I don't mean physically, but morally and spiritually—for peace and national co-operation and progress.

As for the League, that, too, is a free association of independent and sovereign nations, brought together from all the corners of the world, including every type of humanity, every race, every religion and every culture, some fifty-five of them now—practically all the important nations of the world, with one or two exceptions. And they are brought together for the great purpose, the great objective of carrying out the advancement of mankind.

I am not going to make many quotations to you, but I should like to read once again the preamble of the Covenant which sets forth the purposes for which the League exists: "It exists to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by acceptance of obligations, not to resort to war, by the provision of just and honourable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of understanding of international law as the actual rule of conduct between governments, by the maintenance of justice and of scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another."

That is the great purpose for which the League exists. I venture to say to you, and to say it with great confidence, that those great purposes are absolutely identical with the traditions and the aspirations of the Commonwealth, and the dominions which make part of the Commonwealth, in all external affairs.

Now, I am not going to weary you this afternoon with a description which is probably well known to all of you, of the machinery of the League or even its achievements, great and striking and outstanding as those achievements have been, but I am going to discuss one or two aspects of it in relation to the Commonwealth.

I find in my own country, and echoed to some extent in Canada, curious illusions that there is some kind of opposition between the League and the Commonwealth. I hear distinguished persons and some who are not distinguished, say that they prefer the Commonwealth to the League and others who, as I think, are equally foolish, who say they prefer the League to the Commonwealth. There is no kind of opposition of that kind that I can see between the two institutions. You might almost as well say that you prefer lunch to dinner, or dinner to lunch. It is pure nonsense; there is no such opposition.

The League, in my view, is a great guarantee for the existence of the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth, I will not say, depends on peace, but can only flourish and progress in times of peace. And the League stands for peace and the Commonwealth is a great element, a great buttress of the League of Nations, one of those elements on which humanity has relied and believe me, does rely, as one of the great forces which will uphold the League in the great struggle for peace and progress. There can be no opposition between them; they are working for the same causes. The Commonwealth is part of the League; the League is the guarantee of the Commonwealth. The only conceivable opposition, the only possible opposition, would be if the Commonwealth were, in a fit of insanity, to try and carry on some aggressive war in breach of its obligations under the Covenant. That really would be, as I am sure every single soul in this room agrees, absolute madness.

I know, and I find traces of it even in Canada, that there is a kind of conception—you find it in foreign countries quite often—that the United Kingdom, that country simply penetrated with the idea and the love of peace, is capable of plotting for the most sordid and commercial reasons some great attack on its neighbours, of carrying on what in the camp phrases are called, "Imperialistic wars". You will see it carried to the extreme by certain writers in Germany, mainly before the War, who were fond of describing Britain as "the rubber state", which was flourishing on the ill-gotten gains of a disreputable military policy and a still more disreputable diplomacy. If ever there was any truth in that statement—in my judgment there never was—if there ever *was* any truth in it, it certainly can not by any stretch of imagination be regarded as true of the British Commonwealth or the United Kingdom at the present day. For Britain to indulge in a war of aggression would be the height of folly. To use the old phrase, "It would be worse than a crime—it would be a blunder". We certainly have no intention or desire of attacking our neighbours or interfering with the existing order of things.

Well, now, if that be so, and I believe that everybody in this room will agree with me that it is so, what is it that people who suggest that there is this opposition between the Commonwealth and the League mean? I think it is rather different in most men's minds to what I have been trying to describe. I think they conceive the League as a kind of substitute for the Commonwealth, as taking the place in men's minds of the Commonwealth, as setting up a new object of loyalty or affection or whatever it may be, and they fear that those who adhere to the League will be neglectful of the safety and interests of the Commonwealth. Well, I believe that to be a profound mistake. People say, "O, well, how can you expect the people of the United Kingdom to go on supporting (this is the kind of case they put) armament for her defence and protection so long as she is a member of the League? There will be a tendency," they say, "for her to put aside all such armaments and to rely entirely on the protection of the League."

Well, Ladies and Grentlemen, some day that may be so. Some day we may see the League in such a position, an established safety, an established authority, when not only British armaments but armaments throughout the world will become unnecessary. We would all rejoice if it were so but for myself, I must say quite frankly, that I don't think it is practicable at the present moment for any country that has to carry on relations with foreign countries. I do not think that it is practicable for them to abandon their armaments altogether. I think as long as other nations have armaments, as long as they are armed, and as long as in some cases, as we only too regretfully notice, statesmen and people indulge in nationalistic speeches and actions, it is, I think, impossible to rule out as an inconceivable event, an attack by some nation on the British Empire or the British Commonwealth on some occasion. But that doesn't alter this fact in my judgment, that though it is impossible for us here and now—I am speaking of the United Kingdom and the British Commonwealth at large—it is impossible for us here and now, for ourselves alone and not for other nations, to abandon all armaments and to trust to the good feeling—for that is what it would amount to—of other countries, though I believe that to be impossible at the moment, I am quite convinced it is not only possible but cur duty to do our utmost to induce other nations to agree to a reduction and limitation of armaments by international agreement. (Applause). I think that is desirable; I believe that you may go further and say that it is absolutely essential for the continued existence and prosperity of the Commonwealth, essential for the continued existence of the civilization of the world.

We do need a reduction of armaments but as I have said, I don't think we can safely do it by ourselves, though we do need it profoundly. We need it in the first place—no inconsiderable motive at the present time—in order to save money, to save expenditure on an object which is, economically, altogther unremunerative. We, in England, spend something like a hundred and ten million pounds a year. That is, is it not, about five hundred and fifty million dollars a year on armaments? Other nations spend more. The world at large spends annually not less than a thousand million pounds on armaments —five thousand million dollars! Conceive that enormous drain on the resources of the world. Conceive the menace of allowing that drain to go on when we know the whole world is suffering deeply from an economic crisis, unparalleled in living history. Therefore, merely for the purpose of saving money, a restriction of armaments by international agreement is of the utmost importance.

But that is not the only thing. It is said that even if countries were unarmed they could fight. So they could. You see boys fighting in the streets, and nations could fight, I suppose, with their fists even if you get rid of armaments altogether—and you won't get rid of armaments altogether.

Why, then, is it important from the point of view of peace, apart from economics, to reduce armaments? Well, it is important for this reason: that as long as these great armaments exist there must be carried on in every country that has them—you haven't in Canada, I know but in most countries they have them, particularly in Europe—in order to justify the expenditure on armaments, in order to induce their people to agree to the expense, there has to be carried on, more or less openly, more or less secretly, a great campaign in favour of military force and, in the last resort, in favour of war.

Those of us who remember the condition of the world before 1914 will know exactly what I am referring to and will be able to give instance after instance of the kind of campaign that was carried on in certain European countries, particularly, justifying war and regarding it as a great expression of national virility and strength and glorifying every aspect of it and every instrument by which it was carried on.

If you can once get the nations to turn their minds from that conception and say, "We can't get rid of armaments altogether at the moment but we do recognize the great objective to be to diminish them and, ultimately, in the distant future it may be, get rid of them altogether" —if you once get them in that frame of mind you change the whole conception and you put war as it ought to be, as only justifiable, if justifiable at all, as a final necessity, only to be avoided at all costs and by every means possible. And though that may not be practicable at the moment, you set the nature of the mentality of the people in a new direction and, above all, you diminish that tremendous burden which lies upon the nations at this moment and consequently, diminish the necessity for justifying the campaign for armaments which goes on in so many countries at the present moment.

That is the second reason and there is a third which, to honourable men is not less strong. When the powers were assembled at the Council in Paris, they determined to place upon their defeated foes very stringent obligations to reduce their armaments, and those stringent obligations were accepted but they were not accepted without negotiations and, as is well known, the Germans in particular addressed a formal question to the victorious powers. They said—I am not quoting the words but the substance is this: If we disarm, if we cut down our armaments to the extent—and it was a tremendous extent—which you demand, are you going to remain armed? And the reply given by the mouth of Mr. Clemenceau, speaking on behalf of all the victorious powers—Canada, the United Kingdom, every one of them—said: "Not at all. We require the Germans to disarm first because, in our view, they were responsible." Rightly or wrongly, that was the view held at the time—that they were responsible for the outbreak of the war—"but when they have disarmed, then, indeed, the other countries will follow suit." That was the substance of Mr. Clemenceau's letter which has been so often quoted.

And then they were not content with that, but they put definite provisions, a particular provision into the preface to the disarmament clauses which were accepted by Germany, saying: "as the necessary prelude to general disarmament", and since that time we have—the United Kingdom and all the other powers and also the League of Nations has affirmed over and over again, its desire and purpose to bring about a system of general reduction and limitation of armaments, similar to, though not necessarily absolutely identical with, that which was imposed on the defeated powers at the Conference in Paris. It seems to me, that is an obligation of honour, if ever there was one. We do not wish to say, in our country at any rate, that we treat obligations of that kind as scraps of paper, (Applause), though there is still something to be said about that. Is it safe? Can we do it with safety? I think we can. I think we can, at any rate, make a great beginning now at this Disarmament Conference which is to meet in three weeks again, and it will depend on the attitude some other powers, but mainly the British Commonwealth, take, what is going to be the results and decisions of that Conference. I say that they ought, at any rate, to express their willingness to apply those provisions of the Treaty of Versailles which forbid to Germany and the other powers the possession of certain great classes of armaments on the grounds that those armaments are essential if you want to make an attack upon your neighbour. "Armaments of aggression", they have come to be called. I don't defend the scientific accuracy of the expression—it is quite near enough for all practical purposes. Armaments of aggression—aircraft of a military and naval character, tanks, great land guns, submarines, and the gigantic battleships—all these things were forbidden to Germany because they were regarded as armaments of aggression. If we are clear that we don't intend to commit an aggression, what justification have we for maintaining those armaments which have been defined, by the agreement of all of us, as armaments of aggression in the hands of Germany? (Applause.)

And if you can arrive at some acceptance of that kind of agreement, then you have got to do some other things or one other thing, at any rate. You have got to take precautions that after the treaty has been accepted there is no rearming by those who have accepted the new level of armaments under the treaty. For that purpose, you require, as I think, two provisions. You require the establishment for the first time of an international authority whose business it shall be to watch over the execution of the treaty. (Applause.) That is a new conception but one of enormous value. Its headquarters would be, I suppose, in Geneva. It would make whatever examinations it thought right and above all, it would follow the expenditures and the actions of all the different countries and would very soon be able to ascertain that one country or another was making a very substantial addition to its expenditures and if it was keeping within the terms of the treaty.

Then you have got to say, as I think, one other thing; if you find a nation that is rearming in breach of its agreement, you ought to say, as you must say: The only reason that that rearming is taking place is because such a nation contemplates and is preparing for an aggressive policy." You treat them as a threatening aggressor to the other nations of the world. (Applause.) And you say to them, as I should wish to say, "Unless you will abandon that policy, we must have nothing further to do with you. We must cut off all commercial and other relations with you."

If you have got something of that kind—these are no wild theories; they have been discussed at the Conference and very largely approved—if you have got something of that kind, you would have no weakening of the defence of any country. The weakening would be in the power of attack; it would really strengthen their powers of defence because if you weaken the powers of attack all round, it is evident the powers of defence become infinitely stronger and you would help to destroy war.

Let me say one or two more words about that one great danger of the present state of things—a danger which you would eliminate if you could get a voluntary agreement of that kind by all the main powers of the world—is the possibility of competition in armaments. I need not develop that. It is quite plain if you have competition in armaments, you have immediately in every parliament, and where there isn't a parliament, in every discussion, a suggestion that you have got to increase your armaments because such and such a country is arming or is dangerous to you unless you do so. That is common form. You can't read a debate in England, and I don't think we are particularly warlike, you can't read a debate of the army or the navy or the air estimates, particularly the navy and the air estimates, without continually coming across arguments that such and such a country is much superior to us in their particular armaments; that such and such a country is a possible danger to us from a certain point of view and, therefore, the Minister says, we must make this increase. Obviously, points of view of that kind are the very antithesis to real peaceful relations between the nations of the world. If you are always regarding your neighbour as a possible burglar you are not going to carry on completely amicable relations with him.

And then there is another great source, as I think, of danger in the present state of things unless you can get some control on the limitation of armaments and that is the fact that great interests exist whose prosperity depend upon the continued demand for weapons of war. I don't want to say anything derogatory of those gentlemen who create great financial interests, who desire, who must desire, to see the continuance, at any rate from a business point of view, of bad relations between countries and of unrest—political unrest—because that makes a demand for the particular kind of goods that they have got to sell. Surely that is not a state of things which is conducive to the peace of the world. It seems to me that we ought to control the manufacture of armaments sufficiently to eliminate the motive of pecuniary gain from their manufacture. (Loud applause.) We ought to treat them as we treat—at any rate in my country and I suppose in yours—the manufacturer of noxious drugs and I see no real distinction between the man who manufactures heroin for the purpose of corrupting his fellowmen and the man who manufactures weapons that only can be used for the slaughter of other men. Heroin and rifles are both things which, in certain circumstances, have their legitimate use. They ought to be controlled as we do control one set of those commodities. Both sets of commodities ought to be controlled so that they are only used, only made, and only sold for legitimate and proper purposes.

It is said further that all this is the wrong way of proceeding, that what you ought to aim at is such a degree of preparation that victory is certain and if you have got that, that is really the greatest protection against war and the best guarantee of peace. Obviously, if every country sets about that ideal, you will have, in the first place, great competition and in the second place, it is quite plain it couldn't be true of every country that they could be superior to every other country. It is the old doctrine that if you want peace you should prepare for war and it is one of the doctrines which has done the most harm, in my judgment, in the whole history of the human race.

The truth is that we, at any rate, in this generation should recognize that in war there is no victory. It doesn't exist! There are different degrees of defeat but everyone, whether they call themselves victors or the reverse, everyone of them suffers, and as in the case of this war, may suffer very severely, indeed.

It is true—it is an old tag, I know—it is absolutely true that peace is the greatest of British interests, far greater than any of the interests of which we hear, or used to hear so much, and not only the greatest of traditions but the greatest in the interest of every nation in the world.

Then, I come back to my theme—this was a digression, explaining to you why I don't believe there is any rivalry between the League and the Commonwealth. It is put somtimes in rather a different way by very well-meaning people. I have often heard it said that the Commonwealth is a small League of Nations. I see what people mean and there is a sense in which that is true but, fundamentally, they are distinct conceptions. The Commonwealth, as I have said more than once, is a part of the League in exactly the same way as in the United Kingdom the nations of Scotland, Wales and England, a unit of itself, is a part of the Commonwealth. It is just the same thing; the Commonwealth is a part of the League just as the United Kingdom is a part of the Commonwealth and the Commonwealth must be regarded in that way. It can't be regarded as aiming to bring peace to the world by itself. It can't be the policeman of the world. It is quite impossible, even if it were joined by the United States of America, as some people suggest. Even that great combination, immensely powerful as it would be, would never be able by force, which is the conception I suppose the people have in mind, to establish peace in the world and I think it more than doubtful whether you would persuade the United States of America to enter upon an adventure of that kind.

But the truth is, whether the group is small or great, you can not in modern days—I don't think you ever could —hope to establish a group which can give laws to the world, and that is what people mean. It can't be done! It can't be done, nor is it possible, as some other people think, for any group to retire within some strange Chinese wall and say that they will have nothing to do with any other nation in the world and are going to keep entirely clear of the lesser breeds without the wall. It can't be done. The world is one for most purposes now—culturally, scientifically, spiritually, commercially and in many other ways the nations are one and must be one, interdependent as they must be.

The thing we have got to do as members of the community of nations is to see whether we can't do something to make it better before we die, (Applause) and as part of the League we can unquestionably do a very great deal. The Commonwealth—it may be with the assistance of America, if not, without—can do very much inside the League in order to carry on the great work to which the League has set its hand.

O, there are people who urge that the League has become a complete failure, that it isn't able to discharge its duty, that recent events have shown that it is weak and feeble. They cite in support of all this, the great case of the Manchurian question, the great case of the Far East. They readily and easily forget the astonishing, the amazing success of the League in the years up until the last year or two and, on their admission, the immense advantages in international solidarity and international peace which have been achieved at Geneva.

Let us take Manchuria for a moment. Is it true that the combination of the nations, even in that case, has been completely ineffective? I say not. It is quite true there has been very bad fighting but there has, technically, at any rate, been no war, and that is more than a technical consideration. If you compare the slaughter that went on in the Great War and the deaths occasioned in the condition between Japan and China, you will see that there is something to be said for the League in avoiding, even technically, a war. More than that, you had no scramble of the other nations for some bit of China. If this controversy had taken place before the League of Nations existed, every nation that had any interest in the Far East would have demanded compensation—some bit of China as compensation for what Japan had taken.

Finally, though not effective yet, there has been a formal condemnation by all the nations of the world of the policy of Japan and it is surely a great thing to have got that great, solemn, universal declaration supporting the principles of justice and peace in the relation of one nation to another.

But I do not think there has been a failure. There has been fighting; there has been controversy; the League has not succeeded in restraining Japan from a policy of adventure and aggression and why is that? It is the point that comes home to you and me: Why is it that the League hasn't succeeded. It has nothing to do with the machinery of the League and, after all, the League is essentially machinery. It has nothing to do with that. Whether it has been trying for any purpose, whether making enquiries or pronouncing judgment or what it may be, the machinery has worked quite well and quite perfectly. What has failed has been the will to use that machinery to the utmost on the part of the nations who desired to keep the peae. That is what has failed. Undoubtedly, had the nations combined to say to Japan, "Stop, or we shall cut off all relations with you", there is no doubt whatever that Japan would have stopped. She could have done no other. If we have to admit that there has been a failure of the League, or rather a failure of the members who make part of the League, no doubt there are many reasons for it, no doubt there are many excuses, but if there has been that failure, then we, all of us, at any rate, our nations, must take part of the responsibility for that failure.

I don't deny that the absence of the United States of America from the League in this case has weakened the power of international control which the League ought to possess. At the same time, a true conclusion is surely that if the League has failed it has failed because it isn't strong enough. That is not a reason for abandoning or for rejecting it. It is a reason for saying to our governments and people: "You have got to be firm; you have got to use the League to its full power; it is your business to use this great instrument of peace in order to ensure that the peace of the world be maintained".

Yes, Ladies and Gentlemen, I venture to press that upon you for I am convinced that in this matter the responsibility of the Commonwealth and, I may add, the Commonwealth and the United States of America taken together, for in a foreign policy of this kind their aspirations and objectives are usually the same, I say the responsibility is very great, very great, indeed.

I hear certain Canadians tell me that you are in a position of great security in Canada, that you don't need to trouble about what goes on in other parts of the world—whatever happens, you are safe. I don't know whether that is true or not. Surely that is not an argument which is going to appeal to a great and generous people like the people of Canada. (Applause.) They are not going to say, "We are safe. We don't mind what happens to the rest of the world. As long as we can go on prosperously and peacefully in our country, it matters nothing to us."

That is not what they are going to say. They are going to say, "We have a duty to our fellowmen, just as the individual has a duty to his fellowmen, so the nations have a duty to their fellow nations". And if it be true, and I doubt whether it is, even if it is true that you are so secure that you needn't mind about the troubles of the rest of the world, you still are bound to do your utmost to preserve the peace of the world.

And, don't doubt that you have immense power. The position of the Commonwealth is one of unrivalled powers among the nations of the world. I assure you that from my personal knowledge, and it wouldn't be contradicted by any person of any kind of responsibility, they have immense power. The nations of the world look to the Commonwealth; they look to the United Kingdom, perhaps, in the first instance, but to the Commonwealth as a whole, to judge and to decide what should be done by the international authorities in great crises.

Just because we in the Commonwealth stand apart, because in various degrees we are not mixed up with the controversies of Europe or anywhere else, we have a position of impartiality and authority which no other nations have, except, perhaps, the United States. We can give our opinion and our opinion will be listened to. And if we don't, if we decide to take no action, war may again come upon the world and even if we should escape immediate and direct contact with it, we should be responsible for the nameless horrors and sufferings which war creates and remember, terrible as the last war was, horrible beyond description as some of its incidents were, the next war, by all accounts, will be far worse. Not only have great advances, as they are called, been made in engineering science which will enable men, more easily and more thoroughly, to destroy their fellowmen, but the fact that we grow, year by year and day by day, much closer to one another means that any disaster which affects one nation spreads over the whole world. It is no exaggeration to say, if there is another war it will not only be an orgy of cruelty, as every war is, but it will be a dangerous step, perhaps more than a dangerous step, toward the destruction of civilization and the re-establishment of chaos in the world. That is the issue that is before you. You can not escape. The decision as to whether the world is to turn toward progress or chaos rests with you. Posterity is waiting for your decision and I pray Heaven that that decision may be right. (Applause.)

Mr. Harry Sifton, President of the Canadian Club, expressed for The Empire Club and the Canadian Club, their appreciation of Lord Cecil's address, after which

MRS. MOLLISON: Mr. Chairman, My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have been extremely interested to be here today. I have certainly not regretted my decision to come along and listen to Lord Cecil. It has been a revelation to listen to what he has to say. I have grown up in a generation which only dimly remembers the last war and one must remember that the generation now growing up is quite new to the ways of war. I must tell you, also, that there is certainly something about war which has a definite appeal, which brings forth a patriotism and has the lure of adventure. When you don't remember the horrible parts there is that kind of attraction and I think one of the great things, one of the important things in the world today, is to inculcate in the children growing up what it means to have peace.

There is also in this generation a new thing coming into great prominence—you must pardon me saying this; naturally, I have to say it—and that is flying. Aviation has come to stay. There is no doubt about that and flying will absolutely revolutionize any war that there can be in the future. All the great thinkers and all the great talkers in the world can talk about peace and while they are talking about it, one aeroplane can fly overhead and send them all to blazes. (Laughter.)

I stress the use of aviation in war but I also stress it as a great instrument of peace. I have flown to many countries—as I say, I don't remember much about the last war and therefore I don't remember a lot of the dreadful parts of it—the point is this: I have flown to various countries and have gotten there so quickly that it amazes me. People give me the most remarkable receptions and have been most kind to me. I can imagine on some future date, a proclamation that my country is at war with some other country, and I can imagine my immediate reaction: I can't fight those people. I have been there; they are my friends and have been so kind to me. I will jump in my aeroplane and I will soon put it right if I go and talk to them. That sounds simple but often the simplest things begin world crises. Sometimes when two people get together quickly and talk things over great world disasters can be averted. I think that the aeroplane is not only useful to make contacts quickly; it is also useful in another way which occurred to me at lunchtime—and that is in getting away from people. How many of you men would be grumpy at breakfast time if it occurred to you that your wife had an aeroplane and could be up near the Arctic Circle by dark?

I don't want to keep you long. I do want to say that I think in Canada, flying ought to be a little more advanced than it is now. I am extremely interested to come to this country but I am disappointed at the stage in which aviation is. It has got to come. Right through history, transportation has come first and population and civilization has come after. If we still rode on horses, how far would Canada be then. Some of you can remember when trains and motor cars came in, and you probably said, "Good Heavens, I can't go in this terrible contraption, this dirty train, rushing along at twenty miles an hour". Even if you don't want to fly, all your children are going to do it in the near future. So, if you won't fly, be open-minded about it and encourage the idea. Don't give them a bad start.

One thing I want to say in conclusion. I am saying this because it is rather a good opportunity to say it: as you know, we are here to start what we hope is a long distance flight. I just want to say two or three words on that now. When I was in Montreal a few weeks ago, someone said, "Why don't you take off from Canada?" I thought it over. A successful start means a lot. What better start than from British territory, under the Union Jack? That is why we are here in Canada. What I want to say we, ourselves, will be dreadfully disappointed if we don't get up this year, but I just want to make it clear that there is a possibility of us not getting away. We are here; our machine is ready and we are ready. We set ourselves a job of work; it is not finished and we wanted to finish this year. It is rather late in the season but if weather conditions are perfect, we are off. We have only another week or ten days at most and we have to get off before that time. But we have to bear in mind our new aeroplane, given us by a very kind hearted old gentleman, Lord Wakefield. We want to get the record for our country. We know quite well when Bleriot flew the English Channel it meant a lot but if his aeroplane had gone down in the Channel it wouldn't have meant so much. You have to try things to accompish them and we do want to make the trip a success. We are not going to give the trip a bad start. If you hear that we are not going to be able to take off, I hope you will know that we are as much disappointed as Canada could possibly be.

Thank you very much for giving us such a warm welcome. We are happy to be in Canada; I wish we could stay but we can always come again. (Hearty Applause.)

BRITISH SETTLEMENT IN CANADA

AN ADDRESS BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL M. L. HORNBY

September 28, 1933

The speaker was introduced by the President, Major W. James Baxter.

GENERAL M. L. HORNBY: Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen: I thank you very much for the invitation to be here today. I am very glad indeed to have an opportunity to lay before you my views about what I consider is one of those vital questions which this country and the Old Country and the Empire have to deal with at the present time. I will endeavour to explain to you as fully as I can my plan for dealing with new settlers from the British Isles. If there is any point I leave unexplained, I hope you will ask me questions—I should like to be satisfied that everyone here has the details.

Before I go into the details of the plan, I should like to deal with one or two other aspects which I think bear on the subject, particularly at the present time. My first question which is simple, is this: Do we need any immigration at all at the present time and why is it necessary to talk about it? I, myself, believe that we do need immigration. We are passing through a depression but I believe that depression is largely caused by the fact that all development and all enterprise in this country—or a great deal of it—and all over the whole British Empire has dried up, owing to financial stringency, and I believe there is no more sure way of opening up prosperity and making money circulate than by the development of land and homes.

Now, I just had an example of that in the Old Country. It was nine years since I last visited the Old Country and I couldn't describe to you the change that has come over the Old Country in that time in the matter of housing and I certainly can't describe what is going on at the present time. I travelled from London to Lancashire, through Manchester, and from London to York, and from London south in two directions and the whole road seemed to be one continuous succession of new houses going up—houses for artisans and workers, chiefly, and also in the great cities, great blocks of flats.

It is generally considered in the Old Country that there is no phase of industry which puts so much money into circulation among so many different classes as does the construction of houses and I believe that the same applies to the settlement of land. I do not think that we in this country, want additional houses in our big cities, but surely we do require more houses on the land and more land developed. That, I believe, will be a means of putting money into circulation and so assisting to start again prosperity. If we ought to have immigration, I should like to see British immigration. (Applause.) I will deal with that in a moment. Let me say something further about the general question of development.

There are so many people, particularly farmers in the West, who, I know, are adverse to any immigration at the present time because they say there is over production and it would merely result in a further growth of agricultural production. But I doubt if that is true; I doubt if there is any over production at the present time and if we take the figures in the Canadian Year Book, there certainly is no over production. That book has just been published and it gives the figures of the wheat production of forty-nine countries of the world—all the main wheat producers, with the exception of Russia and China and we can rule them out. China doesn't produce much and Russia doesn't produce enough to feed her own people. For those forty-nine countries, it gives the production for this year and I believe it is three thousand and sixty-seven millions of bushels—something like that. But, in any case, that is slightly less than the average of the preceding five years and I think that disposes of the question that there is over production of wheat at the present time.

While I was in England I saw some very interesting figures in the form of a letter from the President of the London Corn Exchange in which he showed that this growth of wheat supply is caused very largely by under consumption in Europe and gave a great many figures to illustrate that. I am not going to quote the figures now but he showed very clearly an enormous underconsumption throughout Europe and this is due, mainly, to the unemployment. People are eating less bread because they are unemployed and also because of the fact that they have not money to buy it. I also read a few amazing illustrations of what is going on in that respect in Germany. I forget how many millions of unemployed there are but it stated that men at work are accustomed to carry four good slices of bread every day to their work. Now, the unemployed are taking their midday meal at home and eat potatoes. That came from an authoritative source and a calculation was also made as to the amount of flour underconsumed in respect to that one item alone. I am convinced in my mind that we have underconsumption of important agricultural products all over the world and that it is due to unemployment and low wages and that is caused to a very great extent by the curtailment of development and also, likely, of land production.

On these grounds, I advocate, not immediate immigration to this country, but that we should prepare for it. We should prepare by developing land and building houses.

I should like to deal now for a few moments with this question of British immigration. I live in Alberta. When I bought my land there, about twenty years ago, there was no other developed land around it and naturally, I expected that all that land would in time be developed by British farmers and now I find the majority of land around has been taken up by foreigners—Central Europeans, chiefly. And I assure you, when I go off my farm to visit my neighbours I am bound to talk in Russian as much as in English and even more. That is my own personal experience. And if we take government figures, in 1930 a Royal Commission on Colonization and Immigration was appointed by Dr. Anderson and the report was issued in the autumn of that year and it stated that there was then in Saskatchewan twice as many immigrant residents of non British birth as of British birth and the situation has grown since that time, slightly more in favour of those not of British birth. The Dominion statistics show, in the past ten years, six hundred thousand immigrants of foreign birth have entered Canada and the majority of those have settled themselves in the prairie provinces and that was against something over four hundred thousand immigrants of British birth. Living as I do, in the West, I have no hesitation in saying that if some definite steps are not taken before long to remedy the situation, the already fast disappearing British character of the Canadian West will entirely disappear.

On those grounds, therefore, I recommend that we should set before ourselves the ideal, again, of British immigration and that we should take steps now to prepare for it. I believe we are living at a time when too much attention and too much thought is given to mere economic prosperity. But Canada has a higher destiny before her. What is it if we merely build up Canada into a good trading nation— a good and prosperous trading nation—what is that? Her destiny is to be a British nation—a unit of the British Empire and she must have a solid foundation of British families. (Applause.)

Now, I would like to go into details of my own plan for settling British families on the land because you all know that one of the greatest difficulties everyone engaged in colonization has had to contend with is how to settle satisfactorily the new countries. The proper selection of the new comers is one of greatest importance. It is really more than half the battle and up to the present agents from this country have done the greatest part of the selection. I maintain they are not the proper people really to do it. After all, they can only judge superficially. If a man comes before them they can make enquiries but they can not go very deep, in the nature of things. The proper people to do the selecting are the people among whom they live—the people who know their character; it is on their character that they will succeed or fail in this country.

My view is that we ought to establish for every county and town in the Old Country its own community, settled for its own people out here—as it were a training ground through which they can pass the settlers year after year. My idea of the size of the unit is about one hundred farms. That is to accommodate one hundred families. If we assume that it would take four or five years thoroughly to train a family in Canadian farm methods in order that they may prove that they can make good in this country; and each settlement is capable of turning out twenty-five families a year, roughly, and therefore would be capable of taking in from the Old Country another twenty-five families every year, each one of the community settlements we establish would be capable of taking in automatically and continually, year after year, twenty-five well selected families from the United Kingdom. They, therefore, have in the United Kingdom the basis of this organization. Under the Empire Settlement Act, towns and cities set up their own migration committees, very closely allied with municipal and town and county authorities. The idea is that they should take up the matter of forming these settlements, that they should acquire their land and develop it with the assistance of experts engaged in this country and they should bring out their settlers and after they have spent a period of four or five years on the settlement they should encourage them to hive off, so as to speak, or to leave the settlement with such savings as they have made in that time. I hope to be able to show you that they ought to take savings and they would also be assisted by a loan of about a thousand dollars from the British government. I think you will agree that with four or five years farming experience in Canada behind him and with fifteen hundred or two thousand dollars in his pocket a man ought to make a good start in this country.

Experience has shown us that supervision is very necessary in order to enable settlers to get over their first few years in this country and for that purpose we should desire that these settlements or farms should be closely grouped, only with the idea of facilitating supervision. You will understand that it means a very much larger staff of supervisors if the farms are widely scattered. For that reason, we recommend that they should be grouped sufficiently close together to enable the supervisors to be close to them for that period of four of five years.

I may say that many of the Old Country counties and towns are quite taken with the idea. They have long felt the need of a freer hand in settlement matters. They want to take Empire settlement, as far as possible, out of the hands of the Government and to run it themselves, selecting their own people without any interference from the government and they are quite willing to be responsible for them on this side. That is to say, they are willing to send back to the Old Country any family that has not made good.

As you know, new British settlers acquire their Canadian domicile at the end of five years and if they become public charges within that time, they are liable to deportation. The committees in the Old Country are, I believe, quite willing to assume that responsibility of sending back to the Old Country, at their own expense, any families that do not make good on these new settlements within a period of five years.

I should like to say something now on the question of finance. A large amount of money is available in the Old Country every year for overseas settlement. The Empire Settlement Act of 1922 provided three million pounds every year for Empire settlement and it has not been possible to spend more than one sixth of that amount every year, for lack of a sufficiently good scheme for settling the immigrants overseas. There were restrictions in the 1922 Act but these restrictions are about to be removed. The chief restriction was that it placed upon the Dominion concerned, the responsibility of finding, dollar for dollar, what the Old Country put down. That has not worked in practice, for many reasons which I need not go into now. The Old Country has taken steps to remove that restriction by the introduction of a Bill into parliament which passed its second reading last year and, I believe, is to be brought up in the next session and all my friends tell me, will become law during the present year. That makes available at once very large sums to be spent freely on overseas settlement. Canada's share of that will, of course, be a considerable one, provided we can, in the meantime, put forward a sound scheme of settlement and prove to the Old Country authorities that it is one under which the new settlers—the British—ought to make good.

I have just returned from a visit of two months to the Old Country. I undertook that visit on the insistence of my friends and associates, in order to represent to the people in the Old Country, first of all, that we, in Canada, are deeply concerned about the continuous falling off in British immigration into this country which has persisted now for a great many years. I was to represent that we desired to maintain and to strengthen the strongest and most desirable warm ties that unite us to Great Britain; that is to say, the tie of kinship, and we believe that can best be maintained by ensuring a constant flow of well-selected British families into this country year after year.

I may say that I met with a very excellent reception from the Parliamentary Migration Committee, particularly, and I may say there is now in the House of Commons a very strong group, determined to make overseas settlement within the Empire a reality.

I also went out into the Provinces. I visited Yorkshire, first of all. Yorkshire is very highly organized from the point of view of migration committees. It has one central committee, meeting in York and, I think, about twenty other committees distributed over Yorkshire. We held a meeting at which all the committees from Northumberland down were represented. After I made a short address, we threshed out the whole question, and I undertook to answer any questions on the subject. They were anxious that I should give them some further details on the financial side, and on my return, I may say the request was renewed. Whenever I held a meeting, on my return to London I put in the form of a memorandum the financial proposals of my scheme. Those proposals were commented on by the press all over England, although the press was not entirely agreed because I put the whole of the expenditure on the Old Country, yet on the whole, they were favourably received from this point of view: that they furnished an opportunity for a full discussion of this question and an examination of it in every detail. I am sure that there will be, in the Old Land, very powerful support for this scheme. I will not say that everyone agrees in detail with it, but on the whole, there is very powerful support. I have received letters every day since my return to Canada, assuring me that the scheme will be well supported.

Now, Gentlemen, I am endeavouring to make this scheme more generally known throughout Canada than it is known at present. I am also taking preliminary steps to establish some of the settlements I have outlined to you in the east of Canada. I find here that my scheme is very well received. The Government of Ontario is strongly in sympathy with it and I have no doubt we shall be able, with the consent and the co-operation of the cities and towns of the districts where we wish to establish these settlements, during the next six months to lay the foundations of this scheme which I have been trying to outline to you today.

I feel, Sir, that I have gone as far as I can in the outline of the scheme and I should like to answer any questions. (Applause.)

MAJOR BAXTER: Are there any questions? Or shall I place the motion of thanks in the hands of Mr. Burton? He has, no doubt, formulated many of the questions and with you indulgence, I shall ask Mr. Burton to speak.

MR. C. L. BURTON: Mr. President and Fellow Members of The Empire Club: I suppose that I shall have to observe a great deal more discretion in my remarks than a visiting speaker will, because so many of my intimate friends are here before me and I shall be pretty well pinned down if I bring forth any views subject to question.

This is rather an innovation for which your own officers are entirely responsible—that a member of the Club should be given ten minutes in order to propose the vote of thanks on behalf of the meeting to the guest speaker of the day. I can only judge that the President knows that I can say nothing in a few words.

I have been accorded the honour of tendering your thanks to General Hornby who has given us such a straightforward talk on a subject which is more or less put under the table by most Canadians and most Canadian authorities today and which I am sure, after hearing his story, you will all agree should be brought up on the table and examined in detail and appraised for what it holds for the future benefit of Canada and of British settlement in Canada.

General Hornby, as the President has stated, has already performed a very distinguished service for the Empire. I understand that very few can say that they have to their credit the distinguished war record which he has. (Applause.)

General Hornby might very well have left his farm at Lethbridge to the foreigners there and retired to the beautiful Windermere Valley in British Columbia and, as so many of us would be inclined to do, to rest his oars on the great Columbia River and to spend his time developing whatever he cared to do in a private capacity. Instead of doing this, he has chosen to give himself to a great public service. Canada is much in his debt.

While I say this, I must say further, as a Canadian citizen, I find it difficult to subscribe to his view that Britain should pay the shot in respect to those proposing to settle in this country. I am not in a position to endorse or to counter the proposals of our guest of today.

In the few minutes alloted to me, I wish to extend to General Hornby our hearty thanks for his message and to include in it some observations which I hope will be considered apropos.

In thinking of the question of settlement and then of British settlement, one is faced immediately with the great problem which we are facing of our own unemployed. One is conscious of our unemployment situation and I doubt if there is any general feeling today that we are in a position to encourage further immigration at the moment, even from Great Britain. We are faced with the problem of unemployment and of providing for those of our unemployed who are not in a position to look after themselves. So long as this condition is present, I doubt if we can entertain the bringing into Canada of those who may be available for settlement here, who under one government or another may be brought to settle in this country.

This present emergency which faces us, however, presents no reason in itself for us not preparing for a day which we shall hope will not be far distant when the problem of the settlement of our vacant land by immigration from Great Britain will become again a foremost question. Personally, I think that any plan to settle our British kith and kin in Canada should receive our sympathetic attention. I am the fourth generation on one side of my family of Scotch settlers in the Province of Ontario. I am the third generation of London, English, who settled in Scarboro Township, just twelve miles from this city. I am sure that most everyone in this room has some such background, perhaps a background not so far away from Old Country connections as my own.

I have been asked here today to suggest some action that we in Canada might take which would have, perhaps, a very salutary effect in helping to solve our unemployment and which might prove to be the forerunner of a new movement to add to our Canadian population by immigration. Notwithstanding the reported increases in employed people in Canada, it is probable that we have in the neighbourhood of nine hundred thousand unemployed peope today. One estimate I have is that the single unemployed total two hundred and sixty-five thousand and that the married unemployed total, five hundred and twenty-five thousand, and the women unemployed, one hundred thousand—nearly nine hundred thousand. If our totals are only half these estimates, the accuracy of which I can not guarantee—nor do I understand that anyone is able properly to estimate in Canada today the exact number of unemployed—but this estimate has been a deduction made by the employment figures rather than actual statistics, particularly of those unemployed. Then, if this aggregate must be cut in two, we can see we have a problem of very serious proportions presenting itself to us before we can consider the putting into effect of a new plan for a new stream of immigration.

I have been thinking, especially, of the single unemployed. We had a demonstration here yesterday at noon of what some of the outcroppings of this problem are. Naturally, the single unemployed men are largely constituted of our younger men and I can think of no more serious situation than that of our single unemployed men—they are the ones who twenty-five and fifty years from now will carry the burden of this country.

I have time only to suggest a course which might be followed in respect to single young men. I am thinking in this connection of our great heritage in Northern and Northwestern Ontario. It is said that we have twenty millions of acres of arable land in northern and northwestern Ontario. Settlement in these areas has been at all times difficult. Scattered settlements are the rule and it is well known that scattered settlements generally mean impoverished settlers. One needs only to travel along the railways and highways of northern Ontario and the Rainy River District to realize that our settlement plans have been not only inadequate but what one might describe as celebrated by their absence—notorious because of their absence. Abandoned farms are common and where settlers have stuck it out, there has been a low standard of living, few social amenities, loneliness, isolation and general lack of progress, absence of reasonable educational facilities and medical services and even of church accommodation, danger from bush fires, from frost and floods and even from wild beasts.

Of the fifteen thousand farms in Algoma, Cochrane, Nipissing and Rainy River District and other northern or northwestern areas, seven thousand of these are from five to twenty-five miles from the nearest railway station or road. Many settlers are isolated here and there is in over a thousand square miles of otherwise promising territory, only one experimental farm in the whole area —the Dominion Government farm at Kapuskasing, not far from Cochrane. There is no Experimental Farm, either Dominion or Provincial, aside from this in the Rainy River area. The problems of the scattered settler are legion and under present circumstances, practically impossible of solution.

I have only time today to suggest that the twenty million acres of northern Ontario and the Rainy River area are capable of absorbing our single unemployed. This area is fertile—they grow potatoes as big as your boot and turnips as big as your head. Thousands of tons of hay and other farm produce can be produced in this area. Sustenance might be the first objective—sustenance for thousands now despairing of jobs and who are on public relief. This area has wood, easily cleared, and fuel in abundance and marketable pulpwood—I hope it is marketable; if it isn't now, it will be.

I have in mind, and this, I may say, is a more or less personal dream if you like, I have in mind an incorporated commission, founded by private funds—perhaps a very large foundation, and endowed by government funds, dollar for dollar with private funds. This Commission would have power to open township after township in this great empire of the north.

I believe that such a body could settle about twenty-five thousand unemployed single men, the first year. The plan would involve small acreage for the individuals, road building, community boarding and bunk houses, supervised by young engineers and young agricultural college graduates and managed by a capable body of public spirited citizens who ought to be willing to give service for nothing. Our University has in the last four years graduated sixty young civil engineers, many of whom are not properly employed. Our Agricultural College has graduated young farmers in the last two or three years who could be harnessed to the settlement scheme.

Time does not permit me to develop the idea at this meeting. If we want to encourage immigration, we must first solve the problem of our own unemployment. I believe that we could absorb hundreds of thousands in our own territory and pave the way for a scheme of immigration and I would like to inject the thought that immigration is not a matter for the Federal Government, except to lay down in most general terms the conditions which should apply to everyone who comes to these shores. There is no reason why the Federal Government should spend five cents on an immigration department. Let them lay down the laws governing immigration in the same way as they lay down the laws governing crime, and let the provinces take care of their own burden of administering the law. At the present time there is the greatest danger of political chicanery between the provinces and the dominion when it comes to a matter of policy on immigration. It is time we got rid of that; it is a provincial question, a provincial problem, and it should be for provincial administration.

I am going to take but a moment more. I want to picture in a few words what I think a township community settlement should generally involve. I have a thought of a model plan. Here lies, let us say, a township of tested good land. There are hundreds of thousands of such townships in Northern Ontario. Let us suppose we shall plan roads of communication at right angles, parallel to existing roads or railways, with a young settler on each fifteen or twenty acres. Say that we have twenty-five hundred young settlers to each township. The settlers' objective would be first to cut enough wood to keep themselves and others warm, to clear enough land to grow food for his own sustenance and the keep of those in his community. For each man on land, I think that four others should be used for road building and drainage and general development of the community. Each five square miles of land would have its bunk and moving house, its movie, church and recreational centres.

I think of the job as a constructor would think of it. The first job would be to build a bunk house, a boarding house, a hospital, recreational facilities and other social amenities would be provided. Within five years, I hope, two hundred and fifty thousand would be required for the work. The land would be cleared and production planned. For the employment of the leisure hours there would be literary societies and sports organizations. Within five years homes would be established and family life introduced and then British immigrants would be introduced. I feel certain, in my own mind, Mr. President, we could make very great progress along some such line as this. For instance, take a settlement of twenty-five hundred or three thousand young Canadians in that vigorous north country. They could have the finest musical organization in Canada developed up there. I would have the best amateur sports organization and they would go right across this country and lick anything their size and kind, and I would make that community a bright and shining light—the greatest advertisement Canada has ever had. (Applause.)

A HABITANT LOOKS OVER CANADA

AN ADDRESS BY GEORGES BOUCHARD, M.P.

October 5, 1933

MAJOR JAMES BAXTER, the President. introduced the speaker.

MR. GEORGES BOUCHARD: Mr. Chairman, my Colleagues, Guests and Members of the Empire Club: To any student of Canadian records there is no city with a name more justified by fact than Toronto, a meeting place. I have had the privilege of being here for meetings of different kinds, mostly national. But until the invitation of your genial President was received, I never thought the honour of addressing a gathering like this, composed of citizens standing in the forefront of public opinion was to be bestowed on a man direct from the furrows, on a son of the soil from the old sister Province of Quebec. In support of your President's decision, I might say, however, that my presence here might be explained on the one hand by the broadmindedness of this audience, not unmixed, surely, with curiosity; and on the other hand, by the adventurous spirit inherited from my forebears who opened up, centuries ago, the first path to civilization in this place where your city stands so proudly today. (Applause).

Perhaps you will agree with me also when I state that the economic depression has had the result of creating a greater intellectual fervour and natural desire for new ideas and a greater disposition for an exchange of views. It is clear to you, as it is to me, that on the imports of industrial and commercial forces, the world which is a world in compartment, has become more mechanical than thoughtful. An attempt has been made to build up sky-high a big industrial tower of Babel which has brought about the confusion of languages. The industrialists, the businessmen, the bankers, who are the domineering forces, run the race, hearing but faintly the murmuring sounds rising over the field from the workshop and the farm, or from the university and the pulpit. For a habitant standing out as a traditional, not to say fossilated, type, for a man from the soil representing a province with the lowest percentage of motor cars and the highest percentage of spinning wheels, the chances to be heard would be considered very limited.

I do not fail to recognize that your most distinguished Club is a reaction against the individualistic tendency of this century. It is extended in its views as in its name. It is a reaction, also, against the overwhelming power of an over-mechanized and over-industrialized world, lending a half opened ear to the voice coming up from the glebe.

You all realize, no doubt, that in our dramatically minded world, the social question is a very immense question and our economic evils have to be cured by a better mutual understanding. It is even the duty of any public spirited man to offer his contribution toward the betterment of our conditions when the ship of state is struggling against a heavy sea; it is not only for the crew but also for the passengers to lend a helping hand.

By trying to cure all our troubles with government taxes and grants we are playing with a yoyo which has sucked its thread and yields it out again. "Adversity may well prove to be the discoverer of the means to escape from itself," as Dr. Butler said. Without any claim to a panoramic mind or a philosopher's tongue, or a cure-all quack remedy, and without any pretence to the discovery of an ideal government or monetary system, I wish only to cast a few reflections as inspired by a habitant looking over his country. Without aiming at immunity from rural inclinations, I will endeavour to present the agricultural question not from the point of view of a class, but from the point of view of the nation. Being all of one mind as to the necessity of maintaining a prosperous agriculture in order to have a prosperous country, it will easily be realized that what I am claiming for agriculture is not for a mere class advantage but for the good of the whole country, the times seem more appropriate for voicing agricultural thought; crisis puts the thought in purer light than ever.

While admitting that our mechanical age will be one of more leisure, the farmer understands that no power on earth can change the supreme law of labour and that work is the greatest cure for our maladies and miseries. Thinking as he follows the plough on an autumn day, the farmer envisages the oneness of a realm whose brain centers too much in the great cities. The farmer realizes how true were the words recently uttered by Sir John Russell as he visited our country, and our province, particularly: "Your farmers have given to the world an example of fecundity and permanency, using the common sense that has been developed in them by contact with the land and by the spectacle of growth around them. The farmer acknowledges the fact that with its ever increasing efficiency machinery will be unable to take account of an ever increasing number of wage earners and that the attention of the people has to be turned more and more toward the land, the eternal and safe refuge. But to succeed on the land, we must proceed, not only with a rigorous hand, but with the rural-minded head and a loving heart".

In other words, we must make way for the return to the soil of head, heart and hand. Those are the three points which I will venture to propound before an audience with a different structure of mind and attuned to another attitude of life. While, myself, a partisan of a society more rurally shaped, I trust there will be no real opposition between our views.

Expansion of farming in a time of agricultural overproduction may seem very paradoxical. The one objection that naturally obsesses the industrially minded man when he hears about the expansion of farming land is that it is useless to invite more agricultural production in a country of already glutted markets. This objection, we must admit, is quite in keeping with the general trend of our industrial age for in our feverish search for production we have lost sight of one fundamental fact: that production is a means to an end, the end being the happiness of mankind. Our agriculture has become so industrialized that unless a man can show a fair net profit in dollars and cents at the end of the fiscal year, he is liable to be rated as an indifferent farmer, if not an actual failure. His mind and his heart must be devoted to the god of material gain, alone. If the things of the spirit cannot follow in this mad rush for money, though the Bible says, "Man does not live by bread alone", perhaps it would be more appropriate to speak of the extension of the farming population, rather than of the expansion of farm land.

The small farm which is close to a self-supporting basis is the most stable element of the nation in this time of depression. The traditional habitant who followed the line of greatest safety, who was afraid of debt and lived within his income, is maintaining a serene countenance while the depression is upon us. He is remorseless in looking over the past and fearless in looking into the future. Perhaps he does not enjoy a standard of living based on the requirements of a city dweller but he does enjoy a peaceful existence and he is not deprived of any of the necessities of life and he has a clear vision of the days to come.

In "World Agriculture," an International Survey of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, I read as follows: "The small peasant farmer is nearer than the large farmer to a subsistence basis and if he is not burdened with debt he can weather a period of low prices to some extent by increasing his reliance upon his own farm for his needs."

While so many farmers in different sections of the world are harrassed by fear of bankruptcy or of seeing their farms falling into the hands of the banks and while so many Russian peasants are uprooted from their farms, and farmers are seriously underpaid on big farms, it is with no little comfort that we look at the farm, not only as an industry but as a way of living.

In "World Agriculture," from which I quoted a minute ago, I also read: "In the economies of the modern world there are, roughly, two ideals for the working life: one the desire for high incomes; the other a desire for stability and security. The agriculturists throughout the world tend to seek security rather than riches."

The drawbacks of rural existence diminish every day. The advantages remain but the main economic attraction of agriculture has been the sense of stability. And I am prepared to accept Henry Ford's judgment on this matter when he states that the use of land is the best form of employment insurance. It ensures against unemployment and that includes protection.

The farmers on the land are what I mean by fundamentals. The land supports life; industry helps the men to make the land support him. When it ceases to do that and supplants the land and the land is forgotten and man turns to the machine for sustenance, we find out we do not live off the work of our hands but off the fruit of the soil. The soil is the source of wealth not the banks.

I beg your pardon for referring again to "World Agriculture" to read this: "The reason for land hunger is to be found not in the actual money return derived from agriculture but in the element of security achieved in the possession of land and the end of the presence of the regimentation, inevitable in industry, and in such circumstances derived from seeing the living results of labour in plants, trees and animal life."

In times of general depression the peasant farmer is secure from unemployment and almost always from actual want. That he works longer hours and often harder than the factory hand is part of the price he pays for security and for independence. In these times of financial stress, of bankruptcy and failure, of hunger, and moreover, of helplessness, I look almost amorously to a little house on the little time honoured farm where the owner shares the burden of taxation and of charity and is a burden to none. They are "the salt of the earth, but if the salt has lost its savour wherewith shall it be salted?"

It must be well understood, while I am propounding the advantages of small farms, I have no intention whatsoever of speaking disparagingly of the highly specialized and progressive big farm and while I may have my eye on the big farm, but would like to farm on a small one.

Our century is far from favourable to the development of a small farm. We are in an age of over-industrialization when world progress has come to mean material advancement alone; industrial revolution, magnificent engineering has completely triumphed. The blessed word, "nationalization," uttered like an incantation by the high priests of economics, has overshadowed the little farm and hastened the uprooting of the soil with the result that a number of young folk today appear in the bread lines.

Unless we change our ideas and also our ideals, unless we come to a better practice of life, unless we envisage the farm as a mode of living, it is useless to endeavour to operate the "back to the land movement". It is imperative that we remove intellectual reasons which have caused the exodus from the furrows, before we may hope to succeed in settling more people on the land. The "back to the land movement" without that precaution is the application of the two pounds of cure with a neglect of the one ounce of prevention.

Sir Samuel Hall, in a remarkable speech delivered in

Regina before the Convention of the Canadian Technical Agriculturists, ventured the assertion that the trend of the medical Doctors today is to look less upon the disease itself and more on the general constitution of the patient. It is rather disappointing that our statesmen are not looking with the more long-sightedness on the general constitution of the social structure and less on the disease itself, actual unemployment. I am much more concerned about tomorrow's jobless, if by education and legislation we do not succeed in creating a condition which will induce more young men to take to farming, with their rural mind not distorted by the urban standard of living. We should bend our efforts toward maintaining two distinct civilizations, the urban and the rural, with distinct ideals. This would give an equal pride to both their adherents.

Let us avoid the catastrophe of turning to the land with a purely urban mind. Are we not like notes of music, one for another, though dissimilar? If we dismiss from our mind the belief that the fact of living in a city confers a degree of superiority on a man or a woman, it will be the first step toward the settlement of more young farmers on the land. It will strengthen our social structure and mean the re-establishment of a better equilibrium of population.

My second point which is briefer, is that the love of farming is perhaps more subtle and this audience would be but little satisfied with the usual vagaries of a sentimental heart.

To the present financial depression, many causes have been ascribed, such as overproduction, under consumption, monetary systems, and so on, which are all but the different features of one cause, an economic cause. To my mind, the disease is more deeply seated. In the feverish industrial movement, in the all-embracing race for material gain and the over enthusiasm for urban industrial life, the world has lost sight of other values, not less tangible and not measurable in dollars and cents, such as the love of nature, the symbol and real joy of country life.

This world, our continent, more particularly, has been affected by the general disaffection for the land. We were not satisfied with the establishment of an industrial financial system, but the leaders of the nation, more and more imbued with the industrial mentality, endeavoured to apply to farming the principles which have made industry prosperous. Efficiency was the dominating factor and to the industrial methods gained entrance in the country side as applied to the wheat field. This industrial spirit was for a time very successful and the old time farmer, the world looked upon with a certain commiseration. A new civilization, based on mass production, mass consumption, not to say mass thinking, was the governing factor. The mechanical world was killing individuality and the love of handicraft, for creative work and spiritual things were looked upon as things of the past. To buy and to sell was more and more the usual course for the farmer as for the city dwellers. Thrift and economy were gradually disappearing and the city's financial institutions were on the countryside the governing agencies. That explains how so many farmers are today in the intricate mesh of financial institutions, not especially adapted to their requirements.

In other words, the farmers have enslaved themselves in a new civilization which is not absolutely fit for them and many of them who were so proud of escaping from the so-called slavery of an old fashioned rural life with no little savoury of peasantry, are today the slaves of loan companies, without knowing what the future may have in store for them.

Let us now try to awaken more interest in the fundamentals of the farming life. The desire for money which, in the language of St. Paul "is the root of all evil", is not the first thing in the life of a farmer who has the courage to live simply and within his income with sensibility. Without denying the farmer the possibility of acquiring as much money as possible through all the scientific developments now at his disposal, I still consider, old fashioned as I may seem, that the trend of modern life has been adverse to other factors which are making farm life worth living. The industrial civilization has partly destroyed the antique joy derived from the accomplishment of work. How many tasks, formerly accomplished while singing, are done grudgingly today? The search for city pleasure has destroyed the old gayety which dominated the furrows and the family workshop. This general dissatisfaction seems to have invaded the fields. The great wealth of love and human brotherhood seems to be less common in a century where the measure of services in dollars and cents is the prevailing custom.

It was with an ill contained delight that I read recently that my political leader feels there has been a tendency to stress the economic question too much and thereby to ignore the moral issues confronting the world and that subtle thing called "human nature". I do not recall who it was that said that the heart measured more than the brain the grandeur of the people.

In this morning's paper I read that spiritual values count, in the long run, more than material values, in the estimation of President Roosevelt.

Being associated frequently with all those who are promoting the best methods of cultivation, I am pleased to witness the great emphasis placed by our Department of Agriculture on the increase of production, but, had the same emphasis been given to the improvement of farm homes, to the beautification of rural life and to the development of the rustic arts, farming would be considered a pleasant mode of living as well as a sound business. (Applause.)

A more appropriate or less urban education would instill in the minds of our children a better appreciation and love for the beautiful and cultural aspects of the farm life. Am I wrong in saying that for three centuries on this continent the unemployment problem has been solved by farm women who learned the practice of handicraft, not only for the employment of the enforced leisure of long winters but as a source of enlightenment, joy and economy? When the promoters of these arts are fostering nowadays only the material gain that is in them, they just display their lack of appreciation of the essentials of rural life.

"Happiness", said President Roosevelt in his message to the people, "lies not in the mere possession of money. It lies in the joy of achievement and the thrill of creative work".

A truer appreciation of farm life in the family circle, in the rural school, in the press, in the assembly of the nations, would certainly mark the dawn of a better day.

Professor J. C. Ransom is right when he states that the amenities of life are sacrificed whenever a generation commits itself to industrialism.

I do not quarrel with those who look to their farm for pleasures different from ours as long as they will obtain them. If what Professor Scudder said is true, that the fully developed rural mind is more original, more versatile, more accurate, more philosophical, more practical, more persevering, then let us keep our rural civilization perfect and pure in its very essence.

I am profoundly convinced that it is incumbent, not only upon the nation but upon its different social activities, to be concerned about the upkeeping of rural ideals so as to develop more pride, to create an attraction for the rising generation, an attraction toward farm life and to help maintain the better balance of population. Good results are confidently hoped for along these lines because the time is very propitious and people are anxious once more to speed the plough.

In concluding on this point, may I again remind this audience, wherever the farm life problem is discussed, no one is entitled to apply urban conditions to farm conditions. They vary considerably. The major satisfaction of farm life is derived from various sources, not so closely related to money as in urban centres. One must measure up the pride in gardening, in raising pure bred stock and high yielding grain, healthy conditions, pleasure in work, strong faith in the future, enjoyment of social life, freedom of iniative, and how many other factors must be accounted for in the appreciation of the country side. Let us hope that our noble rural traditions, hand in hand with the modern developments will help to fascinate the whole of our young people, so to induce them to turn to farming with a just appreciation of the advantages of country life.

Unemployment, the natural by-product of big industry, is the problem of the day and of the days to come, Unless we find a diversion toward the land, I do not see how the unemployed can get jobs again. If full production is resumed, the progress of efficiency and of labour saving devices seems to keep pace with any additional output of industry and more and more people are lured by the big centres. If no change in our view has taken place, old fashioned as I may seem,—I have no complaint to offer for the ever increasing producing power of our machines because it opens an era of more leisure which is likely to become the dawn of an era of more artistic work, of more creative work, a reaction against a deplorable standardization of things and also of minds—I feel that in this rapidly changing world a new philosophy of life becomes imperative.

It is not for the government only to introduce a change, but for all thinking men. It is a recorded fact that the countries with the largest urban population have the highest percentage of unemployment. It is also certain that the land has never refused bread and clothing to the faithful.

I am sure to be in accordance with the opinion of all present here when I state further that the greatest problem is to be with tomorrow's jobless if nothing is done to make rural life, not only more fruitful and more alluring, but also easier of access for our farm boys. A land settlement scheme must be broad enough in its scope to take care not only of the actual unemployed, but also of those of the near future. How can we remain motionless when our youth, the cream of the population are calling for land? If we wait too long we may perhaps gravel the roads for Communism.

I have certainly pinned my faith in a revival of interest in farming. To complain about excess of population, about an excess of farm produce in a country like ours with such great potentialities, would be to lay blame on the vision of our leading men and the courage of our working class.

I do not suggest that we recapture the past but that we retrieve the spirit which inspired our forefathers who were not working for a standard of living, sitting around table meetings, but for the mode of life best suited to their fancy and the necessity of their time.

Let it be said at once that any scheme for land settlement which smacks of patriotism and the absence of self reliance is bound to fail. It is not with grants or by gifts that the goal will be reached, but rather by helping settlers to help themselves on small farms. They must bring to prospective settlers the way to make their own living on a farm.

Will you allow me to be a little more specific in outlining a scheme which if properly followed out will at the same time satisfy the jobless looking for work or land and the farm boys desirous of establishing themselves?

I take for granted that a one hundred acre farm with appropriate buildings and half a score of acres opened up would constitute a fair instrument of living for a new settler, either from the city or the countryside. I take also for granted that the land is supplied free by the state. How could it be worked out economically?

I think it is for the jobless best suited for it, according to their different abilities, to clear up the few acres, to put up the buildings, and to open up the roads. If properly carried out, this scheme would yield fairly well started farms to the settlers for an average cost of $500. That amount covering all costs for buildings, wages and some money for expenditure, would be the mortgage value of the farm advanced against its owner. The country would bear the administration costs, the interest charges, for the first few years, with, perhaps, some occasional relief expenditure. With proper supervision these farms would develop gradually in increasing the investor's security.

I wish we could see capitalism a little more landed and a little more in keeping with country life. With that scheme, the state or any other organization would succeed in giving work to a great number of unemployed and in extending our farming population with very little capital expenditure but with large and sound investment.

The settlers, instead of being sparsely distributed as in too many cases, would live in rather a gregarious state with the comforts of good and helping neighbours, real community life existing from the start.

It might be wisely suggested that the prospective owners of these farms would bring in currency or personal belongings at least ten per cent of the value of the farm mortgage. When working on a reasonable salary for the building up of these farms, the city unemployed would be in a position to assert their suitability for farm work and to take advantage of farm life if they so desired. It would be, at the same time, an outlet for our farm boys who in these times of financial stress are deprived of many other opportunities of satisfying their earnest desire of settling on the land.

What should I say in conclusion, after these more or less desultory remarks? You all realize, no doubt, that I am not here to antagonize the urban populace, but rather to invite co-operation in a national salvage work. It is useless repenting over the past but we must help to plan for the future. There is a redeeming feature in the present crisis. The attention of the public is set more on the land and the idea that agriculture is Canada's fundamental industry and occupation is put in the limelight. The ideal to be aimed at is a beginning of the economic invasion of urban industries with an idea of the fundamentals of country life. Above all, it should be everybody's desire that agriculture which should be the key to the future relief of our over-urbanized population, becomes more prosperous and more properly understood, not only as an industry, but also as a mode of life.

In the diagnosis of the disease from which our noble patient, Canada, is suffering, let us get away from the injection method by the financial specialists. Let us give her more fresh air and apply to her constitution the healing virtue of agricultural pursuits.

I will say with Sir George Paish: "I have no doubt we are going into the greatest period of prosperity the world has ever seen if the necessary measures are taken." Through dark the time in which we live, let us hope by uniting our efforts and centering our activities around the land with unfailing heads, hearts and hands, this Canada of ours will soon emerge victoriously from the waves of depression. Let us blend our determination with our idealism to create a still greater nation on this northern part of the American continent and within the British Empire. (Applause.)

THE MINING RIDDLE OF THE CANADIAN NORTHWEST

AN ADDRESS BY COLONEL GEORGE A. DREW, K.C.

October 12, 1933

COLONEL DREW was introduced by the President, MAJOR BAXTER.

COLONEL DREW: Mr. Chairman and Members of The Empire Club: I speak to you today with somewhat mixed emotions. I am flattered that you have been willing to come to hear me, after seeing me so often in the past year and a half; and I also think it a rather novel experience to be in this place without the necessity of introducing the speaker. I also have another advantage today and I really appreciate it for the first time. Sometimes when a rather prominent visiting speaker was coming, I would thumb busily through "Who's Who" to find out what I could about him, in introducing him I would say what I hoped and thought was expected and then sometimes got rather a shock when we heard what was said. I have the advantage of knowing, for the first time in this position, exactly what you are going to get.

In discussing the mining riddle of the Canadian Northwest, I refer, of course, particularly to the area around Great Bear Lake. Perhaps, my mining friends will say that once you have found metal there is no riddle, but there definitely is. Do not for a moment think that I am in any way reflecting on that incomparable optimism which seems to be a part of the mining enterprise and the mining game. That optimism, in the face of tremendous hazards and tremendous difficulties and many disappointments, has produced that vast wealth that has done so much to stabilize this country during the economic storm. (Applause.)

And, in saying that I would like to take this opportunity of paying tribute, while I am speaking, to one man who has, perhaps, done more than anyone in this country, to develop that enthusiasm and that is the Honourable Charles McCrea. (Applause.)

You may very well question my technical qualifications to discuss the subject of mining. I claim none. I speak to you as a layman who became somewhat curious about an area whose name was on everybody's tongue, but about which most people to whom I spoke knew very little. I give you a layman's impressions and only a layman's impressions of what I saw and of what, as a layman, seemed to me to be the solution for the future. When I talk to geologists, I immediately become hopelessly befogged in learned descriptions of the sedimentary or volcanic construction of the rocks on the shores of Great Bear Lake and long terms flowed from their lips with the same familiarity as they do from a Doctor when he is describing some simple complaint. I couldn't tell whether to answer "Yes" or "No". When I talked to mining men who have been on the ground, there was no doubt at all. The answer was "Yes". In their enthusiasm the difficulties of transportation and climate were immediately dwarfed by the supreme fact that metal was there.

You, perhaps, have had the same difficulty and for that reason I have accepted the invitation to give you my impressions for what they are worth. In giving the impressions and in qualifying them as merely the impressions of a layman, may I suggest that there is every reason why a layman should try to understand technical problems of this nature. Perhaps no country in the world has so many costly monuments to our allowing the technical experts to direct the course of the uniformed but ever optimistic Canadian public.

Until three years ago, Great Bear Lake was to most of us a name, vaguely associated with the adventures of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the romance of the early explorers of the far Northwest. The last edition of the Encyclopaedia Brittanica merely tells us that it is an extensive stretch of fresh water filled with fish and whose shores abound with game. Today, however, the name of Great Bear Lake is known throughout the world, sometimes, accurately; sometimes, very inaccurately. But it is known as the place where there have been discoveries of silver, gold, copper and, perhaps most important of all, pitchblende, which gives the radium that is now doing so much in the cure of cancer.

While the enormous wealth of the mineral deposits on the east shore of the lake can no longer be in doubt, the important question of transportation still remains to be solved and the answer to that riddle is of the utmost importance to everyone in Canada, because it must be remembered that this great mineral area does not belong to any province but to every one in this country because of the fact that it is in the North West Territory. Its distance from organized rail transportation and the extremely severe climate do present a real problem. Because of that distance there are some people who still seem to doubt that the place even exists. I can assure you that it does exist but that it is also very far away.

We Canadians are rather inclined, I think, to be somewhat uncertain about the geography of our own Northland, and Great Bear Lake has been until recently, so relatively an unimportant part of that vast area, that it is, perhaps, not surprising, and I hope you will forgive me if I use one or two figures to try and emphasize where Great Bear Lake really is, because they do play an important part in understanding this problem.

I certainly confess that before I went there I was extremely vague about its location, in spite of having looked at it on the map. I was extremely vague about what the country was like and the questions I have been asked certainly indicate that many others are just as vague.

Without an understanding of that, there is no riddle;

there is no problem. It lies, as you probably all know, a thousand miles slightly west of north of Edmonton, Alberta. It is very much larger than either Lake Ontario or Lake Erie and extends for some fifty miles into the Arctic Circle. It is exactly 1600 miles farther north than we are here in Toronto and its distance in relation to the mining areas of Ontario which give us some basis of comparison, may best be appreciated when I say that it is 1300 miles farther north than our own silver area of Cobalt. Cameron Bay, which is the post office, the air and water terminal and trading centre for the mining district which has grown up there, is just about thirty miles from the Arctic Circle itself, and more than 125 miles farther north than Dawson City in the Yukon, which to most of us has always seemed pretty far north. We think of Churchill on the Hudson Bay as fairly far north, and when we either praise or condemn the building of the railway to that point, we at least think of it as just about the limits of the possibility of industrial development, but Churchill is 525 miles farther south than Great Bear Lake.

There is a wonderful romance in the development of this area. Nearly two hundred years ago, word of rich mineral deposits in that area came out through the Hudson's Bay Company traders, through the stories of the Indians, and in 1770 Samuel Hearne was sent by the Hudson's Bay Company to see if there was anything in these stories. In 1771, he found the copper deposits on the Copper Mine River and he did describe on the shore of an unnamed lake, rich mineral deposits, probably those discovered since that time. Ever since his trip there has been interest in that area, but transportation difficulties were so great that the possibility of going and testing the accuracy of the reports was comparatively small for most people. It was not until aeroplanes began to open the north in 1929 that the history of the north was changed and these stories became the reality they are today.

You doubtless, all remember the story of the discovery, or the last discovery, of that mining area but it is worth repeating. You will remember that Gilbert LaBine had flown to the mouth of the Sloan River on Hunter Bay in search of the copper deposits that have been found there, in the hope of finding other minerals in that proximity. He staked certain claims but was not very optimistic about their prospects. He was picked up by Captain Punch Dickens of the Canadian Airways in September, 1929, and flew south to Fort Rae before the freeze-up. As he was flying south along the shore about 30 miles below Sloan River, he saw a discoloration on the surface of the rock that suggested to him a possibility of richer mineral deposits than he had seen farther north and he located as accurately as he could, this spot, because the maps at that time were very uncertain and extremely vague as to shoreline. He continued to Fort Rae and early in the following year he set out by dog team and made the find at the point where he saw the discoloration, which is now the Eldorado Mine.

This was the beginning of the feverish exploration and mining development of that area. We have heard the expression, time and time again, "cracking open the frozen north". It is the aeroplane in Canada that has cracked open that north to an extent that is scarcely yet realized in the older settled parts of Canada. Not only did the aeroplane make possible the discovery of that great mineral wealth but they also made possible the rapid development that has taken place since that time and with them have gone other things that have made life in the north an entirely different experience than it formerly was. With them, of course, have gone the radio in order to control the direction of the machines and to give the necessary weather reports and with that also has gone news from the outside world, and also has gone the ordinary radio sets which pick up the broadcasts from different points in the north.

How entirely different life in the north is was best illustrated, I thought, by an experience I had on the shore of the Arctic Ocean. We arrived up there; during the evening I met the two men at the very powerful government radio station. We had only been in conversation a very short time when one of the fellows said to me, "What do you know about Bobjo?" I asked him what on earth he was interested in Bobjo for up there and he said, "We get the daily mining and other stock reports from Ottawa and rebroadcast by short wave lengths throughout the Arctic. We occasionally take a flier in stocks here". I asked him how it was done and he said that he had facilities for sending out messages over a limited time every day. He had a bank account in Ottawa and when he decides that the time has come for a flurry, he wires his instructions to Ottawa and the job is done. Certainly, the thought of a day to day following of the stock market on the coast of the Arctic Ocean was a very different picture from that of the days when it took at least a year to get in and a year to get out from that particular point.

In 1931, following these discoveries, the Canadian Airways established wireless stations all through the north country at strategic refuelling points. The rapid growth of air transportation since that time can best be illustrated by the figures of mail and express carried. In 1931, only two years ago, the Canadian Airways, alone, and there are other small operating companies, carried 138,000 pounds of mail and express into the north land. In 1932, last year, that had increased to 474,000 pounds, an increase of more than 240 per cent in the year. While the figures are not yet available for 1933, I am satisfied that the increase will be equally striking. Another transportation company flew in five tons of mining material in five days to Great Bear Lake. Similar feats have now become a commonplace in that north country.

I think, possibly, I might best give you an idea of what it is like going to Great Bear Lake today by simply describing the experience I had in arriving there. The trip from Edmonton to Great Bear Lake is so comfortable and so safe that it is extremely difficult to realize, even when you have been there, how utterly wild the country really is and that up to four years ago a visit to any part of that area involved tremendous hardships and physical effort.

And when I say "safe", I mean safe. The Canadian Airways from the very figures I have given you, will seem to be carrying on a tremendous activity in that country in the north. Other transport companies are keeping pace with them and yet, in all that commercial transportation during the past few years, not a single passenger's life has been lost by any of the companies operating in that vast country. (Applause.) Surely that is the best possible evidence of the safety of this means of transportation, and this was over a vast stretch of country, far from ideal from the flying point of view.

From Edmonton, first of all you fly north about 300 miles to Fort McMurray at the junction of the Athabaska and Clearwater Rivers. That is the real starting point of the air activity to the north because there is rail communication to a place called Waterways, which adjoins Fort McMurray.

I can not vouch for the accuracy of the story I am told that the reason this rail line which goes some 400 miles from Edmonton to Waterways and then stops about two miles short of Fort McMurray, is that there is some provision that until the line is completed double freight rates can be charged. Consequently, the line will not be completed until it is definitely asked for. I can not vouch for that story although the inhabitants definitely state that it is true.

At Waterways you see a tremendously stimulating sight. There is certainly no more active air centre on the continent today than this little northern town of Fort McMurray. Along the short strip of water that joins the Clearwater and the Athabaska are constructed wharves, ware houses, offices, machine shops and all the incidental necessities of a heavy transportation system. In that town there is now an air community and some sixteen machines or more are operating from that point to the north and the pilots, the mechanics, the ground crews and their wives make an interesting and a very vivid community. It is almost like a military outpost. The spirit these people show is the spirit of detached posts anywhere on the frontiers of civilization.

At Fort McMurray you are getting fairly far north. I found that the people flying out of there had constructed excellent tennis courts and when they are not flying or otherwise working they play a good deal of tennis and other games for which they have made provision. I think that it is safe to say that out of that airport are operating the greatest pilots in the world today. That may seem a rather unrestrained statement but I know of no place in the world where pilots must face the variety of circumstances that they do over that long stretch from Fort McMurray to the Arctic Ocean, and varying from the hot weather of the summer to a climate of 60 degrees or more below zero in the winter. The only holiday they get and the only time their families see many of them is during the freeze-up in the fall and the break-up in the spring when they have to wait to change from skiis to pontoons.

In Fort McMurray aircraft are just as much a part of the activity of that community as the ships are of a seaport. There, the people see the aircraft going out on daily business, carrying freight and supplies and passengers to the north and to them, transportation by air is no longer a doubtful means of transportation.

I left Fort McMurray about ten o'clock in the morning with a pilot who, I think, is the most vivid character flying in the North, Captain "Wop" May. Our first hop was to Fort Fitzgerald on the Slave River. We flew north along the Athabaska flying, of course, with pontoons ,and 150 miles north we came to Lake Athabaska which is considerably larger than Lake Ontario or Lake Erie. As we passed over the end of the lake, we saw to the right the old Indian village of Chipewayan which has an extremely interesting historic background. A little over two hours from the time we left Fort McMurray, we were at Fort Fitzgerald. This is the northern end of the water transportation from the end of rail. From Fort Fitzgerald to Fort Smith, a distance of about fifteen miles, the rapids are not passable by river boat. Flat-bottomed, stern wheeled steamers make a weekly trip during the open season from Waterways to Fort Fitzgerald, carrying freight, passengers and supplies. They are unloaded there and carried over land by quite a good road by truck and motor car to Fort Smith, fourteen miles farther north, and there reloaded on another ship which makes the trip down the balance of the Slave River across Slave Lake, down to the MacKenzie, to the mouth of the river and the Arctic Ocean.

These boats do present one of the interesting parts of this riddle to which I have referred. They are old steamers, burning wood, shoving one, two, or sometimes, three scows in front of them, carrying in that way, up to 270 tons of freight and sixty passengers, a capacity for passengers which, incidentally, is never strained. These boats are undoubtedly far from efficient. They did the job that was necessary before the mining area opened but they are certainly not adequate for the task now being imposed upon them.

I examined the freight in a boat called "The Northland Echo" which I saw at Fort Fitzgerald, just unloading, and it was a fair example of the difference between air transportation and that method which has been used in the past. On this boat were a tremendous number of boxes of mining equipment of one kind and another, destined for Great Bear Lake. I reached Great Bear Lake within a comparatively few hours of that time but those supplies which were on that boat could not possibly have reached the lake for another four or five weeks.

One rather interesting sidelight on the modernizing effect of air transportation was furnished by a visit to a local restaurant in the Indian settlement. Over the small restaurant was a very large and brilliantly painted sign: "I. Moire, The Place Like Home". It was not exactly like home but the food was excellent and having refuelled both ourselves and the machine we started for Fort Rae, some 350 miles farther north. Again, you fly along the Slave River to Great Slave Lake and then on across the eastern end of Slave Lake to Fort Rae at the north. That part of the trip was as uninteresting and uninviting as one can imagine. It is a barren, bleak country with scrub trees and innumerable small patches of water, a great deal of muskeg. It is a country that never can possibly support population of any kind, except the scattered habitation of trappers that now exists.

When we arrived at Fort Rae we saw there an interesting example of the way in which the radio controls the air activity in the north. That was the only delay that I experienced in some 9,000 miles of flying. When we put down there a very severe electrical storm was developing in front of us. The pilot went and got reports of conditions along the route and found that the storm centered all along the route we were going to take. The storm then seemed to be turning to west and farther south and hour by hour, one machine after another came in from different points through the north and put down at this little harbour at Fort Rae. By midnight there were nine machines in this small harbour in the north which, a few years ago, was visited only occasionally by white men.

There we saw a rather interesting evidence of the primitive nature of the north. The Indians were there for the celebration of their "Treaty Day" and these people had come from an area of four or five hundred miles to collect annual "treaty money" and really to make it something of a reunion. I was rather interested in the chiefs of the different tribes. There was an old chief who looked like a cross between a doorman at a hotel and an admiral of the navy. He wore a very vivid blue uniform, with gold on his lapels, with a double row of brass buttons and red stripes down his pants, a blue band on his hat with a lot of gold braid on it; around his neck, a chain at the end of which was suspended a silver medallion, presented to the chiefs who actually signed the treaty with the government at the time the tribes gave up any property rights they might have in the northland. He was about eighty years of age without a gray hair on his head. He was the only vigorous man among them—they were really a rather miserable crowd, physically. He was the busiest man there. There were some six or seven hundred gathered there and he must have travelled forty or fifty miles to make sure that everyone saw him and saw the silver medallion which he wore and of which he was evidently very proud. I was assured by Dr. Bouget that the Dogrib Tribe of which the chief was a member, was the purest tribe in Canada today. I went over to find his name and I found that he was entered in the book as Chief Murphy. I believe the actual name is Monthui, but one can guess the nationality of the man who first entered his name in that book.

Leaving Fort Rae, you fly directly north over country very largely mountainous, on to Great Bear Lake. That is the most interesting part of the thousand mile trip by air. The approach to Great Bear Lake, I think, is one of the most beautiful sights anyone will ever see. Having flown over a rather barren country, you come to these great rugged hills along the east coast and as you come down toward the lake, indented by great inlets with rocks rising, sometimes 1500 and 1700 feet from the water, you see beyond the vast body at that time completely covered with a shining sheet of ice. Beautiful, but also a very definite part of the riddle to which I refer. It was early in July and the ice had only left the inlets and scallops along the shore of the lake, but the body of the lake was still a solid sheet of ice.

We put down at Cameron Bay which is the centre of the activity in that north country. There, of course, we found the government post office, managed by the postmaster, Captain Jerry Murphy, whom everybody knows in the north country and there was a very definite sign of activity everywhere around. Wooden huts were going up, the townsite was laid out, the government radio station is now established, and there the Anglican and Roman Catholic missions were established this summer and in every way it was a thriving mining community.

From there I visited the various mining properties that are now in process of development. Naturally, to the visitor, the original discovery, the Eldorado, is the most interesting because by virtue of its earlier discovery it is farther advanced. I went over the property and through the underground workings, about a thousand feet at that time, and I saw the various surface workings. One thing that interested me very much was the fact that when twelve o'clock came a whistle blew and the workmen laid down their tools and went for luncheon, very much as they do here in Toronto. At the same time Mr. Labine and I went over for lunch and, I am satisfied that the well prepared meal today didn't compare with the excellent meal of salmon steaks I had with him that day at the Eldorado Mine. There is, of course, the fact of climate and appetite involved which has a bearing on the subject.

One does not need to be a mining engineer in that country to see rich mineral deposits in several properties being developed in that area. That is only the answer to the first part of the riddle. Mineral wealth undoubtedly exists but it must be sold. True, finished radium has been sold from the plant at Port Hope through the Ontario Government and is now being sold throughout the world. This is only one of the minerals and its very rarity makes it almost certain that few of the properties can hope to have pitchblende in commercial quantities.

Before the vast mineral resources of that area can be converted into Canadian dollars, cheaper and more efficient methods of transportation must be developed. Two means are now available. One is by water, across Great Bear Lake, after the ice is broken and on down the Great Bear River to the Mackenzie, up the Mackenzie to Great Slave Lake, across Great Slave Lake to Great Slave River and over the fourteen mile portage from Fort Smith to Fort Fitzgerald, on by boat from Fort Fitzgerald to Waterways and thence by train to whatever point the goods are to be shipped.

It is rather interesting that freight rates, since competition from airways has developed, have dropped to about one fifth of what they were.

The other course is to ship by air. In the case of pitchblende this is possibly practical; in the case of the other minerals, certainly not yet.

There are many other suggestions as to the solution of that difficulty. I have seen as a suggested solution the extension of the Peace River Railway. Also, when in Edmonton on the way back, I saw enthusiastic suggestions that the unemployed should be put on a road making scheme so goods could be carried in and out by motor. So far as the road scheme is concerned, I am satisfied that it is utterly impracticable. So far as the railway scheme is concerned, I think people will forget, even in the neighborhood of that country, that the Great Bear Lake itself is a very long way from the Peace River country and a railway would have to be built over a thousand miles of just as forbidding country as you could imagine.

Another suggestion is to build a light railway from Cameron Bay to Fort Rae, a distance of from 250 to 300 miles which would give a longer open season for transportation on the Great Slave Lake. That seems reasonably practicable. There are no insurmountable difficulties in the construction of light railways as engineers have proved time and time again, and of course there would be a longer water transport season. Then, the present water route can supply reasonably efficient transportation if certain slight improvements are made. By blasting away a few rocks in the channel of the Great Bear River, the rapid running water that now exists, not to an extent that prevents navigation but rather which is too rapid for larger boats, can be changed and there could also be development in the boats, as well. There can be no doubt whatever that the present boats are inefficient and ill-suited for the purpose of this transportation and before we launch on any great capital expenditure on railways, in addition to those we already have, it is to be hoped this rather simple and comparatively cheap experiment will be tried and that boats will be tried out there, operating on a definite cost basis.

The other possibility that should be borne in mind before any elaborate capital expenditure is involved in railway construction through that country is the possibility of very great developments in air transportation. Already gasoline costs have been greatly reduced and gasoline costs in the north country are a tremendous factor in the cost of air transportation. You will realize that they must refuel every three or four hundred miles, carrying freight, and that necessitates the shipping in to various refuelling points throughout the north, an enormous quantity of gasoline through the short period of navigation. That is a costly process. In addition to the possibility of cheaper gasoline, we must not forget the rapid strides being made in the efficiency of aircraft and the possibility that the cost of carrying freight in that way will be greatly reduced.

An interesting development which has gone hand in hand with the mineral development in the Great Bear Lake is that of the production of oil and gasoline at the wells of the Imperial Oil Company within the Arctic Circle, near Fort Norman.

The existence of oil in this area was known even before Hearne discovered the mineral deposit at Great Bear Lake. When Alexander MacKenzie went down the river he discovered the evidence of oil and it has been known ever since. It was not until 1921 that the first well was drilled there and kept, because being some fifteen hundred miles away from the nearest city, Edmonton, it did not seem to have commercial use. With the development of the mining field, the aeroplane was called into use and in 1931, crews and equipment went into this area and throughout 1931 the small refining plant was established and some 10,000 gallons of gasoline and an equivalent amount of fuel oil were produced. The Diesel engines in operation at Great Bear Lake today are operated on the fuel oil produced at the Arctic Circle at Fort Norman.

The rapid growth of that enterprise, along with the air and other enterprises of the north, is illustrated by the fact that during the past summer, the production of 10,000 gallons of fuel oil had jumped to 65,000 gallons of fuel oil and 42,000 gallons of gasoline. Incidentally, the price of gasoline had dropped from $2.50 a gallon to .90 a gallon, an extremely important factor in the cost of transportation.

I have reason to believe that there is a possibility of the refining of aviation gasoline in the near future which would make a vast difference in the cost of the transportation of metal concentrates by air.

In speaking of the wealth that will be produced, and it certainly will be produced, the wealth will be produced by mining development on the ground and not by any stock market manipulation, either in Toronto or in Montreal. Mining development requires financing and legitimate financing is definitely the very lifeblood of the industry. But, already there are glib parasites who are selling to the public securities in enterprises based on claims in this area that haven't the slightest possibility of success. There are tremendous possibilities of success in that area and it depends, as in every other industry and business adventure, on the skill, the integrity and the character of the men who carry out the work as to whether or not it will be a success. Large sums of money will be required in that area. It can not be emphasized too often that wealth to Canada in the mining industry comes from the ground and not from the quotations of the stock on any given day. Speculative interest has its legitimate purpose in giving an opportunity to those who have bought stock and held it during the development period to make the profits to which they are entitled if the venture is a success, but it is the hard, honest work on the ground that is going to develop the Great Bear Lake area or any other area in Canada today.

There are other ways in which this great country has been changed. They are most vividly illustrated perhaps, by the change in the organization of the church and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in that area. I flew from Great Bear Lake to Fort Norman on the Arctic Circle with Bishop Breynat of the Roman Catholic Church. He told me that he was making his annual round by aeroplane and in three or four weeks time he covered every one of the Roman Catholic missions in the north, a trip that used to take three or four years. Bishop Geddes, the Anglican bishop, is using aircraft in exactly the same way. General MacBrien, of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police travels by aeroplane through the north, visiting every one of the mounted police posts through the MacKenzie and the Yukon Districts in a few weeks, a feat that by any other means of transportation would have taken him two or three years.

So, in closing, let me say that the part of the riddle which has already been solved and that is the discovery of the metal and the certainty of its existence, is also a challenge to every one of us in this part of the country. If any of you are feeling that the depression is too hard to bear and you can make the trip up there, you will get into an atmosphere of optimism and hope and certainty of results that is most stimulating to anyone. Also, you will see something that is a lesson for everyone in this part of Canada. No country in the world has received such direct benefit from the use of aircraft as we have and already in that northland, potential millions have been opened up by this means alone. With the enormous wealth they have created for use, surely, I think, we could pay a little more attention to the possibility of similar stimulating business in this part of Canada by the use of the same type of transportation. This problem of transportation in the north will be solved. There are the two ways it can be solved. One is by water transportation; the other is by air. Either, I am satisfied, will meet the purposes until the area is proven beyond its present point. When that time does come, and there is no reason why it need be very long if the small expenditure necessary on the Great Bear River and on the purchase of boats is carried out, when that is done, I am satisfied we are going to see the opening of another area which will do much to add to the wealth and prosperity of this country. (Applause.)

AN ADDRESS BY MR. A. J. ADAMS,

THE VERGER OF WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL

October 18, 1933

MR. ADAMS was introduced by Major Baxter, the President.

MR. J. C. ADAMS: Mr. President, Gentlemen of The Empire Club of Canada: It is to me, and I might say to my old city of Winchester, a great honour to be here with you. I am somewhat of an ambassador today, for I belong to a club, a very old club, which we call "The High Abbey Club of Winchester" and I am proud to say that I hold the position of President. I bring you by myself, and for the rest of the community and the members of our club, our very hearty wishes. (Applause.)

Just one word before I go on, about a little impression I had today. I have been taken around to see a few of the sights and of all the things I have seen in my travels, none has impressed me more than your great Bank of Commerce. I think it is a most wonderful building. I have seen many and they haven't appeared to me to be solid in their building construction, but yours is a solid thing. It has come to stay like our buildings of old in our town.

The impression Toronto has given me will last forever, or as long as I live. There is one thing I would like to say on impressions and that is this: It made me feel very, very sad when I took a train from Quebec to Montreal and from Montreal to Toronto, for I saw men plowing in the fields with two horses. They looked to me as if they would never get any further than just there. Why can't you get them tractors? It seemed to me that to push a plow for the rest of one's life is rather hard. I do hope that the next time I come they will have a tractor.

Now, as regards Winchester and its historical associations, they are many. We speak of Alfred. Your President has sopken of Alfred the Great. We go back further than Alfred. We go back before Rome, a hundred and forty years before Rome, we had in our town—come and see it!—King Arthur's round table. Five hundred and sixty one. That is far enough gone for you, isn't it? It is a beautiful thing. Of course, the thing is to know who Arthur was. (Laughter.)

We, in Winchester, had mints long before London. We had mints in our city, five of them. When I was in the bank, just now, I asked the custodian who took me into the vault, how much he would charge me to take care of this penny for a day and he told me, I think, three dollars. This is a penny, minted in Winchester before London became famous as moneymakers—not in the sense you take it, perhaps, but in the making of coins. This little penny, I dug up in my own garden last May. It is a silver penny, minted in Winchester.

Our little city is known to all as one of the oldest cities in the world. Our corporations are older than any other. I don't mean that the men are older, but their associations are.

In the year 635 a monk came to Winchester and started preaching and he was immediately turned out by the King who was a heathen. Cynegils was that king's name. Cynegils heard that so many people were following this man that he, too, followed him and he became a Christian and he was converted under what still stands today, the Gospel, alone. Cynegils died in the year 641 and last December, I saw his remains. They are in a chest in our great cathedral. We had to do some repair work to those chests and I had the good fortune of seeing the remains of this king.

We have, also, in our cathedral, the bones of Ecgbert who was only the King of Kent. He became the first king of all England. When building the Woolworth store in our town four years ago, in digging the foundation down to eight feet, we came across a quantity of wolves' skulls. I was asked what it meant and I replied, "I seem to remember in my study of history that Ecgbert taxed the people of England three hundred wolves' heads a year and we have just found them".

Ecgbert was followed by his son, Ethelwulf. Ethelwulf was followed by his son, and he burned the cakes. Alfred, the fourth son of Ethelwulf, founded the schools of learning at Oxford and Winchester. He was good to the monks who built the great monasteries and abbies and cathedrals. He introduced illuminations in our town and we have some of the finest specimens of illumination in the world.

When they wanted a Bible for our church, two monks were selected who could write and who could paint and they were sent to Rouen, France, where they took forty years to write the Bible and we still have that Bible today.

Alfred, the Saxon, was followed by others as famous. His son, Edward, the Elder, is buried in Winchester and then came his eldest son, Athelstan, followed by Athelstan's brothers, Edmund and Edred. Then, later on, came Ethelred II. You, as boys at school, used to call him "Ethelred, the Unready." But he was ready. He came to a bad end. Before he died he let the Danes come in and King Canute came to Winchester and reigned as king. Ethelred left a widow who was immediately wooed by Canute, so Queen Emma married two kings.

We come down from the Danes to the Normans. We have all their remains in our cathedral. William, the First, was crowned in our cathedral. William, the First was buried in Normandy. His son was killed while hunting in the forest.

Talking of the forest, William, the First was asked to give wood for the building of the cathedral. His reply was, "You may have as much as you can cut in four days". The Bishops in those days had such power over their people that they conscripted four hundred men and in the four days given, they emptied William's hunting ground. They left one tree. That tree still stands today, the Gospel Oak. William was so angy at losing his forest that he pulled down thirty-two hamlets and seven churches on the other side of Winchester and he planted another forest and called it the New Forest.

I am going to take this privilege of asking your President, Major Baxter to accept a piece of wood from a sister tree of that Gospel Oak. The wood was given by William, the First, and it will serve to remind your President of something he is going to do today. It is not for me to tell you what it is but you may learn afterward.

Mr. President, I shall be pleased to present to you this piece of wood given by William, the First. (Gavel presented to Major Baxter.)

William, the Second, was killed in the new forest. The stone is there today to mark the place.

Now, Mr. President and Gentlemen, when I speak of that great building, the Canadian Bank of Commerce, I think of the ways and means they had of building it, and we think of the fact that Liverpool Cathedral is going to take sixty years to build and we have electricity now, too. When they built our cathedral in the time of William, the First, they had no scaffolds to build with. They made two walls six feet apart. They got the stone from twenty miles away from the hills of white limestone. They built two walls up, and inside the walls were bricks and cement and they kept on working on it till they got to the top. How did they get up and down? They built up a long run of earth from a long way in the country up to the top of the building and so rolled the great beams to the top. Fourteen years, only, they took to build it. The men who built it were the monks who gave their lives for their religion. The Normans, no doubt, were builders and there it remains today as a monument to their love.

William built a castle in Winchester which remained until the Civil War in England when the northern soldiers took our town. They blew up the cathedral and they only left the hall and it is in that hall today that you find King Arthur's Round Table.

Our city had four gates, north, south, east and west. One of the King Henries didn't have any time to go to any of the gates so he ordered another gate to be made, and he was told that he could not have a gate at the particular place he wanted it because there was a church there. He said, "Remove the church". They removed the church and they built the gate and then they put the church on top of the gate so the church is called "St. Swithin's Church over King's Gate". It is still there today.

We pass on down through the line of kings who came to Winchester and helped in its history, right down to the Henries and the Edwards and the Richards, down through the Plantagenets, and to Henry VII, the first of the Tudors. Henry VII's eldest son, Prince Arthur was christened in our cathedral. I showed a slide last night of the christening and if any of you would like the chance of seeing the picture, I shall probably be showing it in Convocation Hall on Friday night. You will see that it took six people to carry the baby.

We come down to Henry, the Eighth, and the great part he played in the history of England. The Reformation came and the cathedral suffered as many others, but I am glad to say it has been put into thorough order again.

One of the hobbies of mine is to poke around and try and find things that lived in the past and I have found many portions of figures destroyed in the time of Henry VIII, and Edward VI's time and I found that they did not smash them as you are told but they took the trouble to saw them in pieces and I have been able to get them stuck together again, so we are putting back the beautiful statuary of the fourteenth and fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The Bishops of Winchester have played their part and a wonderful part it has been! Take one Bishop, alone. Before he died he built a small hospital at a place called Depford in London. He left land in London to keep it going. The land went up in value and they were able to build another hospital and they built it by the side of Westminster Abbey and the land reaches from Vauxhall Station near London—if any of you know London, you will remember—right down to Westminster Bridge and along its side. It belonged to him. He gave it for the good of the hospital.

The House of Commons and the House of Lords hired land and the great Waterloo Station stands on that land, the land provided for the upkeep of that great hospital, St. Thomas's. So that is one great work done.

Go to our great Oxford. Oxford, the city of spires and one of the most beautiful cities in the world! There you find some of the most beautiful colleges. I have been doubly impressed with your colleges here. What a chance your young boys and girls have today! Stick to it; get on with it; show the people who sent you to college what you will do. Oxford has sent out to the world, all over the world and especially to Canada, some of its best. But those colleges were built mainly by our great bishops. Think of their forethought! They were getting sixty thousand a year, I own. Right down to about fifty years ago, the Bishop of Winchester received forty thousand a year, but he had to collect his own tithes, which cost a great deal of money. But the colleges at Oxford are something to be proud of. And we had in our cathedral, William of Wykeham, who was the founder of Winchester College and of New College at Oxford. He left land to keep them going and they go on today.

Magdalen College at Oxford was founded by another Bishop of our cathedral, William of Waynflete. He had no surname but the name of the village he was born in was taken as his surname.

Now, Gentlemen, this will appeal to you, I am sure. There is a little college in Lincolnshire in England that has been going on ever since 1447, training young boys of from thirteen to nineteen for the larger college and the bigger school at Oxford, to turn them out as men of the world and as men from whom we expect big things. But, I am very sorry to say that last July they had to close their doors. Why? The tariff on potatoes, from a good two pounds per ton was dropped to one pound. I am not a politician but that sticks in my mind as being very sad, because those farmers could not pay their tithes. They were up against a wall, directly the tariff was taken off from two pounds to one pound, ships were waiting in the river to unload their potatoes. Our farmers could not sell their's. They were just digging their crop and could not pay their tithes and so the college is closed. May it not spread to the college which followed it at Oxford! I hope it will not! That is a very sad state of affairs, I think.

You would like me to tell you a little story. I was talking to a Bishop the other day and with him was a chaplain. When the Bishop retired, the chaplain said to me, "Do you know a Bishop when you see one?" I said, "Yes". He said, "Do you know the difference between an English Bishop and a foreign Bishop?" I said, "I don't know that I do." He said, "Well, an English Bishop always preaches and holds his hand up so. (Hand held upright). A foreign Bishop always preaches and holds his hand out so." (hand stretched out with open palm. (Laughter.)

Speaking to a hundred and ninety clergymen last February, and telling them that little story, a certain bishop got up and said to me, "Yes, and your Bishop came out last year and held out both hands". (Laughter.)

One little story to tell you what happened to me one day in April, 1918. At the end of the war, for two years, I had given my day of rest to your Canadian wounded soldiers. (Applause.) I used to meet them in a great motor lorry and give them of my best, every Thursday for a whole day, in memory of my own brother from Saskatchewan who was killed. One day, taking them around our cathedral, one of our boys said to me, "Could you answer any question on this cathedral?" Judging him as more or less of a stranger and not knowing very much about it, I thought I should be fairly safe and I said, "Yes". He said, "When will you proclaim peace in this Cathedral?" and I answered, immediately, "On the tenth of November". I was four hours out. It happened at four o'clock on November 11. I had four letters from four of those boys, a month after the 11th of November, to tell me and remind me of that statement. Those boys were charming. I receive letters from them almost every week.

Our college at Winchester is one of the old things we pride ourselves in. There is present today at this luncheon, an old Wykehamist who lived in the same house as I lived in myself for seven years. I was proud to meet him today. The old Wykehamists have their motto; it is a great motto: "Manners maketh the man". But another motto they had was: "Come to College and learn; if not, read or be licked."

We have another delightful old building in Winchester called St. Cross, and if you come to Winchester any of you, and if you will let me know you are coming, perhaps a week's notice, I will give you my day of rest to take you around and I will take you to the delightful St. Cross where you will receive the dole. I do not mean the dole that you think. You don't want dole. But you shall receive a glass of ale and a piece of bread, so don't bring your sandwiches with you. St. Cross was built seven hundred years ago by a certain bishop for poor old men. It was enlarged by Cardinal Beaufort. Cardinal Beaufort, as you all know, was the Bishop of Winchester and he sat as one of the judges at Joan of Arc's trial. He wept when he saw her burned and he said, "We have burned a saint". They canonized her thirteen years ago and we have a figure of St. Joan in our cathedral.

One story, I must tell you, concerning St. Cross and that is that a certain master of St. Cross was in his study one Sunday. Some of the old men who live there look after the place more or less. They have a foundation and they receive between fifty and sixty pounds per week and a lovely house to live in. There is a rule that you shall not take photographs on Sunday. A certain American gentleman came around one Sunday and stuck up his tripod to take a photograph. An old man approached him and said, "Sir, I must ask you please not to take photographs". The American replied, "I have come a long way. I want to take this one". "You go away", was the reply. "Sir" said the old man, "you go away" and he proceeded to push the tripod away. The young man pushed the old man away and said, "You go to the devil".

The old man reported the incident to the master of St. Cross who was, by the way, a clergyman. The master asked the old man what had been said. "He was rude to me", said the old man". "What did he say?"

"I don't like to repeat it, Sir," said the old man.

"Why not?", asked the clergyman.

"Because, Sir, you wouldn't like to hear it", was the reply.

"Well, what did he say?"

"He told me to go to the devil, Sir."

"He did! And what did you do?", enquired the master.

"I came to you, Sir". (Laughter.)

In the west gate of the city of Winchester we have a collection of old things. One of them is a very interesting one. It is a fireback, a piece of iron used for the back of a fire and on it is the coat of arms of a certain earl. His name is the Earl of Leicester. He was made governor of the store at Woolwich Arsenal. So much thieving took place that they had to stop it. So, he took his own coat of arms which was a fish spear, a spear for spearing fish, and he made a stamp of it and everything belonging to the king was stamped with this stamp. This fish spear is the origin of the broad arrow. Everything belonging to the King today is stamped with that broad arrow, so when you see it, you will know that it is not a broad arrow but a fish spear.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of The Empire Club of Canada, I give you my very best thanks for the chance of coming here to speak to you. When you say, "The Mother Country", it is lovely to us, but when we say "Canada"—what a son we have. You look to us as the Mother Country but we look to you as a father. We hope that you are going to be our salvation, presently. Honestly, we in the Old Country look to Canada to help us when we are old. We are old already, but we are going to leave you that trust. We trust that you will look after us when we are old. Mr. President and Gentlemen, I thank you.

AN ADDRESS BY MAJOR L. L. ANTHES,

PRESIDENT CANADIAN MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION

MAJOR BAXTER, the President, introduced the speaker.

MAJOR ANTHES: Mr. President, Members of the Empire Club and fellow guests: It is with a sense of appreciation and pleasure that it is my privilege to address your membership, at a time when the bonds of Empire seem to be drawing more closely together. I hope to show you today, as briefly as possible, what this relationship of closer trade with the Empire means to Canada and how the various British units are helping one another.

A recital of the benefits derived and a general review of present industrial conditions in Canada naturally involves a certain amount of statistics. I shall try to emulate the bride in cutting the wedding cake—just enough to leave a pleasant taste in the mouth, but not sufficient to confound the digestion. It is not necessary to reiterate at any length the various indices that have been published by the daily press and weekly financial papers, and by the various financial houses and banks—with these you are more or less familiar.

However, I do wish to emphasize that the upturn has come and that it is gaining momentum. True, the forward movement is not yet very apparent in some of our industries and trades, but once the tide has started in the right direction the slower moving heavier lines will gradually make progress.

The improvement in employment is probably the most significant indicator of better times. Between April 1st and September 1st of this year, industries reporting to the Dominion Government show increased employment of 135,000. If small industries that do not report had the same ratio of increase it would bring the number of employees returning to work up to 275,000. Furthermore there are a great many people who have returned to whole or part time work in commercial, agricultural and other fields. Of these no estimate can be made.

I should like to emphasize at this point that during the period of depression Canadian manufacturers have been doing all in their power to find work for as many employees as possible—trying to keep them employed at least part of the time. There has been considerable overhauling and revamping of plants, designing of new articles of commerce, searching out of export markets, building up inventories (much of which in the heavier lines has moved only too slowly) and in many cases paying wages with borrowed money.

To give you an idea what factory employment has meant during the past three years, these figures are significant:— In 1930 the number was 90 per cent of those employed in 1929; in 1931, 80 per cent of those employed in 1929; and in 1932—70 per cent of those employed in 1929. True, many men were employed only part-time and there was a tremendous accelerating drop in the output of those plants contributing to the building and construction trade.

Unemployment is by no means due chiefly to manufacturing restriction, as in a country such as Canada, which is still in the development stage and so bountifully blessed with widely scattered raw material, we have *construction* and *building, transportation, lumbering, mining, fishing merchandising* and *casual labour.* These all contribute to unemployment. Happily (with some exceptions, of which building and construction is outstanding as it has continued to decline during the current year) unemployment has been diminishing.

Furthermore, most of the standard index figures have risen, as is evidenced by increased railway earnings, bank clearings, iron and steel production. The index of wholesale prices has risen from 66 to 69. The output of central electric stations has increased 22 per cent from August 1932 to August of this year. This is a clear indication of industrial revival.

But in spite of this general improvement the *building* and *construction* industry lags far behind. It is almost inconceivable that this industry, so important to the life of Canada, has dropped this year to 10 per cent of the volume of 1929. Its ramifications are so great and far reaching that with its shrinkage unemployment sets in in almost every field of endeavour. This is only natural in a country which is passing through the stages of progressive development. That is why it is so important that building and construction, which can be economically justified and financed, should be gone on with. It gives such a wide diversity of employment.

Now, regarding agriculture, you know Western Canada has gone through four successive crop failures. The difficulties of the prairie farmer are very, very great indeed. While there has been a rise in the price of Agriculture during the past few months, the advance has been below anticipation.

More encouraging, however, are Canada's trade figures.

During the twelve months ending September 1933, total exports of Canadian produce amounted to $505,133,415, and total importations to $384,929,724, this leaving a favourable balance of $120,203,691.

An outstanding example of the benefits of the Imperial-Economic Conference is our lumber export. In spite of the lack of domestic demand, during the month of September just past, 36,582,940 feet board measure were shipped out of the port of Vancouver. This was nearly 16,000,000 more feet than were shipped in 1931, and over twice as much as shipped in September of 1932.

To demonstrate that this upturn in employment and trade is not confined to Canada alone, I will quote figures from a statement showing the indices of production of five of the most important industrial countries, issued last month by the Federation of British Industries:

	U.K.	France	Germany	U.S.A.	Canada
1928	100	100	100	100	100
1929	106.0	109.4	100.4	107.2	100.8
1930 1st Quarter	105.1	113.1	93.1	94.6	100.8
2nd “	97.7	113.1	87.6	93.1	93.1
3rd “	94.2	109.4	79.7	83.2	90.0
4th “	93.8	106.3	75.2	76.3	84.6
1931 1st “	89.7	104.4	71.9	76.8	84.6
2nd “	87.3	101.3	72.3	77.6	77.0
3rd “	84.6	95.3	68.0	70.9	75.9
4th “	92.3	90.0	63.8	66.1	70.8
1932 1st “	90.1	79.5	62.0	62.5	67.4
2nd “	89.2	70.4	61.3	54.7	62.2
3rd “	82.7	73.2	59.6	55.3	62.2
4th “	90.0	76.1	61.8	59.5	59.4
1933 1st “	89.1	80.8	63.7	56.8	52.5
2nd “	89.2	85.0	68.5	68.5	61.7
	(Est.)	(May)	(May)	(May)	(May)

It is a singular fact that after the free nations of the British Empire met at Ottawa last year and signed eleven agreements, regulating their trade with one another, general world improvement soon became evident. This is what those agreements meant to Canada as disclosed by official figures covering the first twelve months period ending September 1933. The value of Canadian exports to Empire countries amounted to 48 per cent of our total exports as compared with 41 per cent for the previous twelve months.

Our total imports from British Countries, for the twelve months ending September 1933 amounted to 33 per cent of our total imports, as against 27 per cent for the preceding twelve months.

For the month of September 1933 alone, the value of our exports to British Countries increased 17 per cent over September 1932, while the value of our imports from other British Countries increased 20 per cent over the value of such imports during September 1932.

As regards individual countries of the Empire, Canada's exports in September, 1933, to United Kingdom, Irish Free State, Newfoundland, Australia, South Africa, British West Indies, Straits Settlements, Hong Kong and Fiji, registered large increases over those of September, 1932. During the same month Canada made considerable increases in her purchases from the United Kingdom, British South Africa, New Zealand, British East Africa, British West Africa, India, Ceylon, Straits Settlements, British Guiana and Fiji.

There is considerable romance in the history of industry which it would take volumes to recount. Not so many years ago there was a strict demarcation between what were known as industrial countries and raw material countries. Great Britain was the early outstanding example of industrialization. Her merchant marine brought to the work-shops of England and Scotland the raw products from every quarter of the globe, where they were fabricated into household and other articles, and then the same ships distributed them to world markets. Ship-building in itself became a colossal industry and the great ship-building plants were never idle. Great Britain became known as the work-shop of the world. Then other European nations became highly industrialized and competition became world-wide. But the tight little Isles seemed to hold their own. Many were the pessimists who declared during the last few decades that Great Britain was done. Possibly the wish to some was father to the thought. Gentlemen, when Great Britain is done, our civilization will be done.

During the greater part of the last century and up to the present a change has taken place. One of the greatest raw materials nations of the world, the United States, has become one of the most highly industrialized. Furthermore, this happy combination of raw materials and industry has attracted and developed some of the brightest and most inventive brains in the world. A new era developed and what may be called "modern" industry was born. We may well say that the United States launched us into the mass production age. Canada divided from this great hive of industry by an imaginary line could not help being influenced and spurred on by this sturdy neighbour. Electricity, oil, gas, hydro-electric power as well as steam, became great industrial forces. Transportation developed by leaps and bounds and soon the more primitive means of conveyance gave way to fast, long distance trains, swift steamships, motor cars, trucks and, finally, aircraft. With aircraft, exploration became no longer a matter of tedious and restricted travel by canoe, pack-horse and Shank's mare.

Canada followed her neighbour perhaps a little too rapidly—her population grew too slowly to take up the slack. It could not be otherwise. Progress, initiative, inventiveness were natural inheritances of British people and the high standard of living, which meant the possession of every conceivable modern convenience, was quite as much the aim of the Canadian citizen as it was of his neighbour in the Great Republic. Soon we had our trans-continental railways with their arterial branches; our hydro-electrical development, the finest in the world. To try and enumerate what electricity alone has brought us would make one dizzy. Our mines, our forests, our peerless agricultural lands, our fisheries and other great natural resources have all become highly industrialized in their operation. Industry had rapidly developed into a science. Professors, and students of our universities and agricultural colleges gave their best in promoting science and industrial research, and the great effort still goes on. Yet so rapidly does the human mind adapt itself to new conditions that the most startling invention seems to be but a nine days wonder and is soon taken as a matter of course. We are ever on the outlook for something new.

Contrast all this with the primitive industries which were started in this country early in the seventeenth century—when communication between continents was often a matter of months—now an electric flash unites the whole world.

Then, and for many years after, ingenious makeshift was the order of the day, but it nevertheless built the foundation of our modern industrial civilization. To trace the history of development through its many stages would be a superhuman task.

The transformation of the externals of life is brought home to us by consideration of a few which touch us closely every day. Houses for example, were constructed first of mud or branches, later of wood, and now of brick and stone, perhaps, tomorrow, of steel. Systems of heating developed from outdoor fires, open fire places, wood stoves, coal stoves, to hot water heating. Water, once dipped from lake or stream, is now supplied by taps from intricate mechanical systems. Lighting has progressed from the candle and oil lamp, to gas and to electricity.

Without modern refrigeration a great deal of what we regard as the comforts of civilization would disappear. It is a far cry from the original methods of cooling and preservation by earth and water, to modern gas and electric refrigerators. Imagine what would happen if we did not have great refrigerator cars going from coast to coast. Visualize for a moment what would happen to stores of food if suddenly refrigeration ceased to exist. A modern city could scarcely function.

In the realm of cooking, a most important part of modern life, try to imagine the ways and means of preparing foods and the mechanical stages through which they pass before they appear on the table. Clothing, originally all made by hand, is now largely a mechanical operation carried on in huge factories.

Think for a moment what comfort, convenience and efficiency have resulted from household articles such as carpet sweepers, vacuum cleaners, churns, washing machines, power machines and electric appliances. Imagine what machinery has done for agriculture by producing spades, hoes, shovels, scythes, cradles, mowers, reapers, combines, threshers, and other types of machines.

In the field of transportation consider the various methods of travel, walking, horseback, carriages, bicycles, railways, canoes and row boats, sailing ships, steamships, motor cars, airplanes, corduroy roads, dirt and gravel roads, macadam and asphalt pavements, steel rails, docks and canals. How much improvement would there have been without the aid of manufacturing?

In the field of education what should we do without printing, binding, ink, paper, pens, typewriters? What would life be if suddenly we were deprived of such things as I have mentioned, and could not replace them? What would happen to civilization? What would be the lot of mankind on earth.

While modern manufacturing, or the factory system, is only about 60 years old, the following figures indicate the growth in Canada:—

	1871	1931
Employees Number	187,942	557,426
Capital Invested	$77,964,020	$4,961,312,408
Salaries and Wages	$40,851,009	624,545,561
Value of Products gross	$221,617,773	$2,698,461,862

You, of course, realize that considerable time and effort is required to collect the mass of statistics on which these summaries are based. We have nothing official since the 1931 figures were published this year. The drop from our 1929 peak to the end of 1931 was as follows:

Employees	19 per cent.
Salaries & Wages	23 per cent.
Gross value of products	33 per cent.

The decline for 1932 and 1933 we can only estimate until the official figures are available.

However, we have always had peaks and unless some method is discovered to rationalize them, there will be more in future, and remember that we have always exceeded previous peaks. Today we are looking up at the figures of 1929—sometime in the future we shall look down on them.

I wish to take you to a more recent development of industry covering a period of possibly thirty years. That is the development of industry on our prairies. I would like to recite a little story, a reminiscence, to show the attitude held one time in many quarters regarding industry on the prairies. Some ten or twelve years ago, our President and the Executives of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association was entertaining a well known newspaper man of the West at a luncheon. The man was well known, throughout the west and well known throughout Canada. He wished to convey to the Canadian Manufacturers of the east a message from the west. The statement he made was that there will never be a clear understanding between the east and the west until the east realizes that the west is purely agricultural and will never become industrialized.

Gentlemen, I had already established a plant in the west and I still felt confident that my judgment wasn't wrong.

The other side of the picture came a few weeks later. I took a group out west and came back on the train with a well known editor, also a newspaper man. He had his comments to make and he said: "The trouble with you people in the east is that you do not appreciate the industrial possibilities of the west."

Well, it is very hard to reconcile the view of the two men who lived a couple of hundred miles from one another!

As you say, it is difficult for the east to understand the west. Sometimes groups in different centres do not understand one another.

Furthermore, when we started in the west twenty years ago, one of the great problems was the securing of raw material. I went to see a prominent railway man in regard to the shipping of raw material to a particular centre, and the gentleman immediately lost his temper and said to me: "If you eastern manufacturers knew your business you would stay in the east where you belong. We don't want you out here."

Look what a wonderful change has taken place in the last twenty years. The west is now inviting industry from the east.

At this point I would like particularly to draw attention to the remarkable development of manufacturing in the three Western Provinces. We have to start at a later date because the Prairies were growing buffalo grass in 1871—the year taken as the beginning of the general statistics quoted before.

The first official figures available are those of 1880, and are as follows:

	Employees	Salaries & Wages	Value of Products
Manitoba	1,921	$755.507	$3,413,026
Territories North West	83	35,425	195,938

Contrast these figures with those for 1931:—

	Employees	Salaries & Wages	Value of Products
Manitoba	24,193	$30,706,209	$118,540,865
Sask.	6,061	7,546,703	44,265,151
Alberta	11,798	14,213,753	68,367,411

Prior to 1915, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta did not produce sufficient butter, eggs or poultry to meet their own local requirements. They are now very large exporters of these commodities. Last year 439 carloads of butter with a value of nearly $2,000,000 were shipped out of Manitoba alone.

Saskatchewan has large deposits of valuable clays.

These have been developed to the point where pottery and stoneware manufactured therefrom are disributed all over Canada. A splendid grade of fire brick is also made from Saskatchewan Clay. This natural product of the Province replaces importations and furnishes employment for Saskatchewan workmen.

Sodium sulphate is another natural resource of the Province of Saskatchewan that is being rapidly developed. Several plants with a total capacity of 100,000 tons per annum are engaged in producing salt cake from these deposits for many chemical and other purposes.

The belief of many people that the Province of Alberta contained valuable petroleum resources has been justified. Many oil wells are on a producing basis in that Province. They furnish raw materials for several refineries. These in turn provide work for many Canadians. Alberta produced the large amount of 1,199,415 barrels of oil in 1931.

Mention of Alberta would not be complete without reference to its large coal deposits and natural gas fields. These furnish a plentiful and cheap supply of power and heat for its citizens. Alberta has widened its coal market until it serves the territory from the Pacific Ocean to Ontario in the East.

Manufacturing has developed in Winnipeg, Brandon, Regina, Moosejaw, Calgary, Edmonton, Saskatoon and smaller cities and towns to a remarkable extent. Factories are turning out products of all kinds, from steel bridges to cookie cutters; from spinning wheels to woollen blankets; from flour to fancy biscuits; from hides to shoes; from flax to wallboard; from malt to beer; from overalls to fur coats, not only for the Prairie market but also for the demand on the Pacific Coast, in Eastern Canada, and also for export.

The airplane is responsible for the opening up of the northern areas of the Prairie Provinces. In this territory there has been a great development in mining during the past few years. This has passed the speculative period, producing mines now being busily engaged in turning the natural deposits into marketable commodities, reaching a value of $9,142,787. in 1932. In addition to furnishing employment for a large number of men in the operation of the mines a market for a large quantity of farm products and manufactured goods has been provided by the miners and mining companies. Last year $11,650,000. was expended by the miners.

As an indication of the extraordinary rapidity of the growth of industries in Canada, I would like to mention a few examples. Our leading industry, according to value of products, is the manufacture of pulp and paper which employs 33,207 people and produces $215,000,000 worth of products annually. The industry, as a whole, was only in its primary stages at the beginning of this century.

Central electric stations stand fourth among Canadian industries in production and first in the amount of capital invested. Eighth in value of production is electrical apparatus and supplies, with an annual output of $104,000,000. How much electric energy was being developed in Canada at the beginning of the century?

Automobiles stand ninth, with an output of $101,000,000. How many automobiles were there in this country twenty-five years ago?

One of our newest industries in Canada is the manufacture of real and artificial silk. During the past sixteen years its output has multiplied over eight times.

Remember these all might be called new industries, which began in a small way a few years ago in this country. Perhaps when they were struggling for a start, many said there was no place for them here, that they could find no markets, that the country was not suited for them, and similar things.

So far, Gentlemen, I have spoken chiefly of manufacturing, but many other forms of production are so closely related that it is difficult to draw the line. For example, modern mining is largely a vast industrial operation. Some of the mines in Canada compare favorably in size and use of machinery with the largest manufacturing establishments. The value of mineral production increased from $10,221,255 in 1881 to $310,-850,246 in 1929 and was $182,320,150 in 1932.

Lumbering, which occupies a department of production by itself in statistics, is also to a great extent a manufacturing operation.

Your experience tells you that I am endeavouring to summarize in half an hour information and statistics on which days might be spent profitably in intensive study. At best, I can only give you some impressions, based on sources of information available, supported by statistics, and confirmed to some extent by my recent trips to the Pacific Coast and through Quebec and Ontario.

I have synopsized the principal facts concerning employment, trade and other features of recovery. Then it was pointed out that this recovery is world wide. You were reminded that world recovery appeared to coincide with the co-operative efforts of British Countries. The romantic story of industry was suggested as a background for its far-reaching utilitarian, modern basis. The amazing growth of manufacturing in Canada during the span of one man's life was told in a few rows of figures. It was emphasized that proportionate development is evient in the other great departments of national activity.

What is the conclusion?

Are we going backward or forward?

I do not ask this question with a short view in mind. If I did, the answer would be that we slipped backward at an uncomfortable rate for several years, prior to last Spring.

But I ask the question with the long view in perspective. Our material history, like that of other new countries, has been a series of forward movements with following periods of reduced prosperity. Nevertheless, the long line of progress has been steadily upward, cutting across the peaks and valleys. I believe that history will repeat itself with some variations.

All that this country possesses is the accumulation of results of efforts of millions of Canadians during three hundred years. It is our heritage in trust for the present and future generations.

At this time, Gentlemen, I feel that what is incumbent upon the people of Canada is a better understanding of the problems of various groups. Group selfishness and individual selfishness must fade away when we consider the progress of this country of ours. It is an inspiration to go from coast to coast and to see the spirit of the Canadian people, no matter what department of industry or agriculture or whatever their calling may be. It is only by knowing, considering and helping one another in our various problems that this country will make the progress we hope to make.

As I pointed out before, the getting together of the British nations is a wonderful step forward in the life of our people and as this relationship expands and it will expand from year to year, I think we all see indications of it, the greatest British Empire the world has ever known.

Gentlemen, it has been a particular pleasure to address the members of the Empire Club and I would thank you very much for the gracious hearing you have given me. (Applause.)

AN ADDRESS BY MR. ARTHUR CROCK, CHIEF OF THE WASHINGTON BUREAU OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

November 2, 1933

MR. CROCK was introduced by Major James Baxter, the President:

MR. CROCK: It would be no disparagement of the excellence of Canada's newspapers or the intelligence of its citizens were I to assume that you are not quite clear as to what we are doing or trying to do in the United States. Daily, the despatches from Washington present confusions and contradictions that must seem fundamental to the citizens of another country.

For example, you have been reading for months of our effort to advance prices and increase consumption by adding to purchasing power. Yet recently you saw that, with the approval of the President, our Federal Co-Ordinator of Railways had informed the steel rails (steel plates) companies that they must reduce the price of this commodity from $37.75 to $35. before the government would approve purchases or the railroads would make them. This must have seemed inconsistent with the Administration's main objective.

It may be somewhat bewildering also to read of sharp reductions in the wages of Federal employees who are low-priced people, and powerful efforts to increase the earning of low-salaried Americans engaged in private industry; of pledges to balance the Federal budget, and economy swamped by huge government expenditures charged to something called the "extraordinary budget". You may not comprehend the relationship that could exist between the stimulation of private business by colossal and new legislative incentive and its discouragement by forming a government corporation as a rival to private building enterprise.

You may have knit your brows over a national plan, the progress of which was statistically disputed by two fact-finding government agencies—the Federal Reserve Board and the accountants of the National Recovery Administration, one reporting that industry, especially industry subjected to the codes and the processing taxes, has slumped in the last two months; the other insisting that only the steel business had slid backward.

And, I presume that with some of the most friendly of your economists in Canada and in Great Britain, you have not understood how the gold market activities of our Reconstruction Finance Corporation can serve to coin a dollar "that will not change its purchasing and debt-paying power in a generation."

It is not my claim, standing before you today, that I can explain these things with pellucid clarity and make harmony of seeming contradictions. Perhaps there are economists who can; I am not an economist. Perhaps there are journalists who can. They are incomparably my superiors. My only hope is that I may be able, in grateful response to your generous invitation to come to Toronto, to give somewhat clearly my conception of what the government of the United States is driving toward, of the abrupt change this represents in our national psychology and structure and of the reasons that brought it about.

An article recently published in the Week-end Review of London sought to recall to those who are trying to understand the American recovery movement what happened at or national elections in 1932. Although Mr. Roosevelt in his campaign speeches never spoke of revolution, never pledged himself to take income from him who had earned and give it to him who had not, undoubtedly millions of voters supported him in that hope. They were the debtor class. Many of them were the new debtor class, people whom the world's depression had robbed of occupation and income through no fault of their own and who saw no way to pay the debts they had contracted and were daily contracting. They, after three years of suffering were unwilling to wait longer the slow if sure evolution of classic economics. They were unwilling to suffer longer to prove once again that Adam Smith was right. Privation and its resultant unhappiness had put them in a mood to try new regimentations designed to modify and put some Christian charity into the law of supply and demand.

Under the previous regime these people had waited patiently for the copy-book maxims to set things right. They had witnessed the downfall of many drives to restore the flow of credit, to induce those who had money to loan it to those who had not the spirit or conviction to borrow. They had seen the failure of effort to keep up wages on the assurance that natural recovery was at hand. They had economized and compelled their local and national governments to economize in the hope that "work and save" was still the sesame that would open the gate to rehabilitation.

In Franklin Roosevelt they believed they had a leader who would find, and would have the fortitude to use, new methods to restore employment and income in the United States. To President Hoover's warnings of what would follow a change in government, the attitude of the vast majority was: "It can't be any worse. It may be better. Let's try something now." That, members of the Empire Club, is what we are doing in the United States and the attempt was launched with the encouragement of the people. The inauguration of new methods in a country of more than 125 millions, with highly diversified groups, not a homogeneous nation, and with borders as wide as your own imperial land, is certain to produce contradictions and confusions real as well as seeming.

I have the feeling that, speaking in another country, even in a country as friendly as this good neighbour of Canada, it would be poor taste to indulge in criticism of the men and methods engaged in our New Deal in the United States. It is not my wish to pretend that I am an ardent partisan of some of these men and some of these methods. But I should, on this occasion, prefer, if you will permit, not to analyze our effort narrowly and critically, but to try to explain what we are doing and to relate it to an aspect of our nationl psychology in the United States which, even in Canada, may not be wholly understood.

In viewing the great recovery experiment in our country you should, I think, take from the top of the list of descriptives the word "economics". Of course, if the President succeeds in raising prices and wages and providing the increased purchasing power to pay for these, the benefits will be economic. But our effort is really sociological. As a social enterprise it should be weighed and finally judged. The old or classic economists accepted as a fact that human nature and the physical elements of the planet made certain a precise operation of economic laws. Normal times would be succeeded by flush times; these would be followed by depressions; then normal and flush times would come again. The annals of humanity have sustained that belief.

But in these changes the testimony of historians is that people starve, freeze and are unhappy that people suffer a loss of standards, that the clock of progress is turned back. They point to generations that have never known the bliss of contentment. The answer of the old economists has been that these things are written and cannot be changed.

What the United States government is now trying to do is to prove by legislative devices that the old economists are wrong. Our Federal effort is to demonstrate that there are quicker steps to the restoration of the true balances, and that there are ways to hold them true for at least a generation. The President has said as much; what he is now endeavouring to do is to prove it. A powerful sentiment among some of his most cherished advisers is that man was ignored by the old economists in their olympian calculations; that, had they kept in mind the human casualties wrought while economic laws are operating, they would not have been as complacent in their decision that these laws cannot be intelligently modified.

Those in charge of our government policies at this time are not complacent. The suffering of society are uppermost in their minds, and what they are trying to do is to relieve these through new economic measures.

It is not unusual to find the people of the United States engaged in almost poetical experiments in idealism. I wonder if Canadians have ever stopped to think that they are living alongside for three thousand peaceful miles the most idealistic people in the world. Perhaps you do, and it may make you shudder sometimes. But it is more likely that you don't, because our withdrawal from all responsibility for improving the post-war world we had helped to create, and keep the Kaiser from creating, has been greatly stressed to prove the United States a nation of materialists. Our attitude on the war debts and recently toward international trade and tariff arrangements has brought from abroad steady charges of materialism. Uncle Sam has been called Uncle Shylock more often than by his real name for ten years. Mr. Coolidge's remark, "They hired the money, didn't they", has been accepted as the hard spirit of America.

I repeat that we are a nation of idealists. When our imagination is touched by a man, as in the case of Mr. Roosevelt, and by an idea, as in the instance of the National Recovery Act, we are all for taking a chance and for disregarding those who croak about the lessons of history. When we discover that the forebodings are accurate, we are entirely willing to repeal or forego our idealism. I have in mind the prohibition amendment. We are within a few days of relegating that venture in moral legislation to the limbo of another or, I hope, a thousand years. But for more than ten years we doggedly tried to enforce it. Only a nation of idealists could have adopted prohibition and stood by it for so long. Yet we are practical, too, for the repeal machinery has worked more swiftly than any student of the American constitution ever believed was possible.

In this spirit we embarked upon the national recovery measure. Please absolve me from an implication that all aspects of recovery must go the way of the prohibition amendment. I do not think so. There are new and enduring relations between capital and labour, given spirit and meaning by the National Labour Board. Restrictions have been set upon capital expenditure to increase long-standing surpluses, and these will continue to be applied. Hours and wages, benefitted by N.R.A. will hold those benefits very long, and I feel sure that we shall grow excellent fruits from the uses of our new leisure.

For half a century workers and humanitarians sought vainly to abolish child labour. N.R.A. has eliminated it. N.R.A. has induced labour to accept the idea of minimum wages for men. Industry, as in the textile branch, has been led to limit wasteful overproduction by accepting control of the working hours of machinery, and this limitation has given the smaller manufacturers their chance. The New Deal has also done way with the old inefficient Federal employment bureau system and is forging an efficient, nation-wide chain of employment exchanges. State conferences are for the first time seriously working out the problem of unemployment insurance.

Strikes are complicating these social reforms in industry. But whenever prices and employment rise in the United States, it has been our experience that human nature comes to the front, seeking to improve the chance of getting wider concessions. But, even though the collective bargaining section (Seven A) of the Recovery Act is a strong temptation in this direction, the National Labour Board is making progress in improving the relations between employer and employee.

These illustrations may serve to illuminate the social aspect of our newest adventure in what its expeditionary forces hope will prove to be practical idealism.

After the banking crisis that was acute when we changed President last March, economies were effected in the great and growing costs of government. Anticipating the repeal of prohibition, Congress legalized beer. This was also more a budgetary matter than anything else. At that point the President's conservative advisers wanted Congress to adjourn. They wanted the President, with his new emergency powers over the capital, gold and credit and over the costs of government, to set about the work of administering these and let the old economic laws, plus the obvious signs of approaching natural recovery, take their course. They wanted international action on trade, currency and tariffs, and in that spirit and with that hope we proceeded to London—with what result, you know. That was the situation when those who knew what they meant by the New Deal and believed the President meant the same thing, insisted upon the enactment of the empowering legislation.

They contended that the public, despoiled by greedy and unmoral bankers and industrialists, should have the protection of the Securities Act. They evolved the farm adjustment act, which in an effort to raise farm prices has levied or will levy a sales tax in the form of processing taxes and other imposts of more than a billion dollars on the consuming group, and still the farmers are quite dissatisfied and are the real enemies of the N.R.A. at the moment.

They set up the home and farm loan boards, providing money from general taxation to preserve mortgaged homes and farms. They made into law an insurance arrangement for bank deposits. They saw to it that the President was left free to work out his own currency program by having permissive powers to inflate or not as he chose.

As you know, this has gone forward in slow steps and we are now engaged in the experiment of gold purchases. A great deal has been said about this but I hesitate to follow Sir Henry Drayton who spoke on that subject yesterday, and speak extemporaneously on it today. But I feel that you might believe that this gold purchase plan is not so much to reduce the dollar particularly far down, but to put a fence around it which would provide a limited field of devaluation so that it wouldn't go up higher than X or down lower than Y. And that has been the purpose of the British Stabilization Fund. If my analysis of this is correct, I do not believe that we shall see a monetary war between the United States and Great Britain. While I must leave to financiers the question of whether manipulating the price of gold has any effect on the prices of commodities, that at least is not behind the act itself.

The President's advisers arranged for the redistribution of property and income in the country and set barriers against the operations of those financiers whom the President scornfully referred to as "money changers" in his inaugural address. At the present, most of these form the investigation committees of Congress.

The theory back of all these actions was the same—that compassionate rulers of a people can aid, accelerate and improve the slow workings of the classic economic laws. But the greatest product of the theory was still to come—what you know as N.R.A.

For years many leaders of thought in the United States have been urging the expenditure of from two to five billions of dollars on public works as an unemployment relief measure. The idea behind this was that the government could easily borrow the money and arrange that it be spent in a way to add to the purchasing power of everybody; that otherwise the money would stay in hiding. Opponents of the plan insisted primarily that government red tape and legal obstacles in the states and cities would send the money out so slowly that it would not substantially increase purchasing power. But they were over-ridden, and all they have at this moment is the satisfaction of knowing that thus far their prediction has proved true.

They were over-ridden and the great public works program was agreed upon. But then in the Administrations's councils it was insisted that there must be corollary measures to provide a market for this purchasing power. The first suggestion was a vast scheme of government stimulation and regimentation of the manufacture of commodities in normal demand. If the new billions were to flow among all citizens, there must be enough things to buy and sell. Industry, however, was to regulate itself, with the government as a benevolent distant partner.

From this simple formula has grown the gigantic experiment known as the National Industrial Recovery Act, with its codes, its prescriptions, its temporary checks on individual liberty and with the government standing behind the counter in every shop. From this simple formula has grown a bureaucracy which, while the law stands, prescribes what minimum wage shall be paid, what hours of labour there shall be, the maxima and minima of certain prices and what investments and expansions shall be made in industry on the test of the communal benefit. A plan, economic in form, has been enlarged and fashioned into an instrument of social welfare. Its precise aim is to restore the normal flow of trade, raise prices and reduce unemployment. But its larger objective is to bring comfort and living security to the greatest number of people.

Whether or not you believe that it is wise, just or can work, you should judge it on that basis. It is a proposed method of accomplishing Mr. Hoover's ambitious dream in 1928 when he spoke of ending poverty in the United States forever. He never went about it this way, but the ideal is the same. I repeat, we are a nation of idealists.

Our great enterprise is nationalistic, and we have put barriers around our country in an effort to work out the plan without the hindrance of foreign action. Manifestly, once committed to this idea, the President could not stabilize the currency by international agreement, lower tariffs by pacts with other countries or permit equivalent goods to be imported at lower prices. It means that we must try to do everything for ourselves by ourselves. That fact, if other nations do not imitate us, is one of the great evils of the scheme in a time when the perils of war and economic conflict threaten the whole world.

Your Chairman has said that observations from me on the political prospect in Europe would be welcomed, since I have recently been there. I am aware that, though you are our best customer, and our social economics are of deep interest in Canada, what happens in Europe is perhaps of even nearer concern to you. To my disclaimer of being an economist, may I add that I am in no degree an expert on international affairs. But it may be that if, as a journalist, I report what seemed to be in October to me the political state of Europe, I shall not be assuming too much.

The impression I gained from conversations in several foreign countries is that war is distant, perhaps even remote. There must be two parties to a fight. Among the powers whose interests just now are acutely conflicting, I cannot see any pair which would be anything like well-matched. Suppose Germany, under the impulse of its new nationalism, and smarting under a sense of injustice and humiliation growing out of the Versailles Treaty, should attack France. How long could Germany, in its weak state, withstand the armament of France? On the eastern boundaries, the Polish army is strong and watchful, and Poland is bound by treaty with powerful nations. So long as the Corridor is not threatened, so long as Alsace-Lorraine is safe, do you believe that Poland or France will provoke a war with Germany?

You do not need the assurance of a citizen of the United States that your own Empire has no warlike designs. You have heard with increasing iteration the voice of the peacemaker at Rome. Russia's front is toward the Pacific, not the Baltic, and Russia and Spain, in my opinion, are more interested now in their social and economic development than in any of those acquisitions which can be gained only by war.

If there is a war spirit in any nation able to respond to it, or soon likely to be able, I did not detect it abroad. Certainly the United States is more pacific than it ever was. The slight impression, persisting for only a few hours, that our delegate at Geneva might mix in the disarmament disputes among Great Britain, France and Germany brought a wave of disapproval throughout the United States. We were never more aloof than now from the political quarrels of Europe.

The only break that was envisaged in the iron ring now set to keep peace in Europe is Austria. It is not unlikely that a Nazi government may come to power there. Through the cooperation with Germany which this will permit, and through other possible gains among suppressed minorities to the southward, a semblance of what we used to call Mittel Europa might come. But if it seems to be coming, what of the great power on the South? Will Mussolini be disposed to permit it to grow to a size he deems dangerous to Italy? With Great Britain and France both anxious to keep peace, in a mediating position as between the Fascist and the Nazi Government, it is difficult to see war.

This was the prevailing belief in the capitals I visited. Experience has taught Europe that war is always possible and probably no statesman denies it as a prospect of the distant future. There are acute age-old ethnic discords and undying memories of losses and humiliations. But also there have been long periods of peace, and that is particularly true when no one can name two parties to a war—a great war, I mean.

Hitler's persecution of minorities has aroused the French Left, which used to be the pacific political group in that country. It has alienated Great Britain and the

United States and made not a friend anywhere thus far. But most Germans seem to like it and if it endures and Austria joins in the concept, and the minorities grow restless in the Balkans and Central Europe, some sort of conflagration may come. But even so it would be, I should think, a fire that could quickly be put out by the great powers that are determined to keep the peace of the world.

If in this picture at this time we could put the figure of international economic peace, we might feel that at last we had commissioned the architects of a happier future. But until the experiments in nationalism have run their course and adjustments in ancient systems have been made in the light of results, the group of builders must remain incomplete. Each of us for a while must follow his own path as best he can and hope that soon these will converge into that open place of friendly assembly, the interdependent world. (Hearty Applause.)

CHANGE OR DECAY

AN ADDRESS BY DR. CARLETON STANLEY,
PRESIDENT OF DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

November 9, 1933

Before introducing Dr. Stanley, the President of The Empire Club, Major Baxter, on behalf of the Empire Club presented Dr. Albert Ham, a former President of the Club, with a silver salver.

DR. HAM, in a brief reply expressed his appreciation of the kindness of the Club:

"This is indeed a surprise to me. It is so sudden that I hardly know what to say. This I can easily say: I thank you all very, very kindly for the reception and the words that the President has so kindly said about me. I can assure you that I have received many, many, many kindnesses at the hands of our members and past Presidents of the Empire Club.

Reference has been made to "the happy warrior". That was my ideal, I must confess, but I am afraid I have never reached the happy warrior height of happiness.

It is so delightful that I can come back and be with you oftener than before. That is my great solace and it is a great pleasure to look forward to the happy time that I shall be able to spend with you in years to come."

DR. STANLEY was introduced by Major Baxter.

DR. STANLEY: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I am very grateful for this very friendly greeting today and the cordiality of this reception. If I may do so, I should like also on behalf of the Dalhousie University to thank you, Sir, for the courtesies you have extended recently to the graduates and the governors.

I think it was about 1927 that the late Lord Balfour said, in effect, that the game was up, and that we were in for a general disintegration unless men of all parties could meet and agree on certain fundamental things. He was not talking of Coalition government, nor about anything mechanical. Some of you doubtless will remember the occasion of his utterance which I have forgotten, but I am sure I am right in saying that he had in mind a solidification of ideas among men in general about what elements in our society we wish to conserve.

I am going to talk on that text today, not with regard to British or European politics, except in so far as they may come in incidentally, but with regard to Canada. This country has escaped some of the worst convulsions which have occurred since Balfour's utterance. At least we seem, for the moment, to have escaped them. Ultimately, we cannot escape their influence. We certainly cannot escape their disastrous influences unless, following Balfour's advice and warning, we lay our heads together and take stock of the present situation, conjure up our history and ask what lines we wish our future development to follow. That may seem an impossibly large field to discuss in half an hour or so, but perhaps in that time I may raise certain questions with sufficient clearness to light the way to the ultimate questions which we must all ask of ourselves.

Are there any fundamental ideas or are there not, on which reasonable agreement can be found in all our provinces? To say that there are not would imply, of course, that we can not have any society at all. Then what are those fundamental ideas? Let us take some fundamental, very fundamental political conceptions which have grown up in Europe over a long period, and which we have inherited and established here—such ideas as religious toleration, parliamentary government, a judiciary independent of government, and so on. I suppose that not one person in a hundred would deny that religious toleration has been accepted for all time in this country. It is not, however, a question that many of us think about or reflect upon even once in a decade. And perhaps every one here in this room would say quite confidently that religious toleration can never again become a live issue in the life of this country. I am sure I hope that is so. Since 1760, religious toleration has been a part of the tradition of Canada, even more than it has been a part of the tradition of England or of France. We have had as between this Province of Ontario and the Province of Quebec, a long and happy experience of it. And yet, in some Canadian discussions of blasphemy, and in one or two other things, there are certain disquieting signs. Remember that as late as the seventeenth century, hundreds of thousands of men, women and children were done to death because of their religious faith, or lack of a certain religious faith; and remember, too, in a few months time, much of Europe has lapsed to a period far earlier than the seventeenth century. If we do believe in religious toleration, and it is my unmixd conviction that at present we do then it might be wise and desirable to reaffirm our belief.

Consider again parliamentary government. I have heard Canadians say, and not lightly, that they did not believe in it. You remember how Carlyle used to scoff at it, in London, most of a century ago. I confess that I see grave difficulties in parliamentary government in this country as compared with Great Britain, and it may be that we have been a little too slavish in attempting to sail precisely, and point to point, on the same tack. But here again, I fancy there are few in this room who would say, either lightly or deliberately, that they are prepared to see the institution discarded. Our whole development, even from days earlier than Confederation, has been on that line. The Province of Quebec, to which at first parliament and all its implications was a novelty, has come to prize it and it has been a great means, a great instrument in the unification of our races. Those things, I think, should be remembered when we weigh the scandals in our parliamentary history, or when we say in an idle moment, it may be, that some other system of government is desirable. If another system, then what sort of system? Now, once more, as about religious toleration, some may think it altogether unnecessary and irrelevant to raise this question but in my judgment it is even more important to raise this question and to be articulate about it. Revolutions never come because the great mass of society wills them. Revolutions needs must come, but violent and shattering revolutions come because the great mass of men have been blind and deaf at times when the social or economic centre of gravity has shifted, or when for one reason or another the shape of things refuses to accommodate itself to man-made forms. It is a political commonplace, indeed, that men live by the myths which they themselves have fashioned, but there must be some sort of general agreement that the particular myth in question is at least as good as any other conceivable myth. As an interesting example, one might cite the life of the American Congress from 1789 to 1933. Sixty years ago, Walter Bagehot wrote as though it were a matter of common knowledge that the American form of government was tolerated only because the men of New England could work anything, no matter how unworkable it was. It would be invidious, and certainly altogether beside our present purpose to trace the history of American government in the intervening six decades, but perhaps both its friends and its critics would agree that it has persisted only because of the extraordinary conservatism of the Americans and not through any adaptability of its own. A few months ago it was quietly shelved. I am not lamenting its passing. I am only wishing to point out that only as late as one year ago no one anticipated such a sudden and great change. It is a remarkable change and one bound to be fraught with great influences upon this country. I have heard it said and I have read recently, that after all the change in the United States is not very great and is only in line with certain things that have happened in Europe. Gentlemen, that is not true. The change in the United States is not in the least analogous to the dramatic announcement, for example, of Premier Dollfuss of Austria, made on September 13, last, that henceforth parliamentary government would no longer exist in Austria. Parliamentary government in Austria had been a brief experiment. It had not yet acquired any tradition in that little artificial state which the Treaty of Versailles had carved out of the Kingdom of the Hapsburgs. In Austria no one had been eloquent as Lincoln had about government by the people not perishing from the earth. Austria had merely been ordered to establish a parliament by one of Lincoln's successors.

Thus far I have been content to point no moral, nor shall I begin to do so now. What I have said about American conservatism leads me back to my main theme and also tempts me to point out that in Canada we are even more conservative and not in Lord Balfour's sense. Balfour had in mind a political demarche, an innovation in political thinking, in order that certain essential things, the things precious and dear to all Englishmen, might be conserved. We all know the things that Balfour would have wished to see continue—government by law instead of violence, government by free debate instead of edict. Other things, too, doubtless, he wished to have continued but these things I have mentioned, he would have said were of far greater importance than, for example, methods of taxation.

Now, Americans and Canadians, too often, have been conservative in another sense, refusing to change anything until it is too late—a method which ends in conserving nothing. Reflect for a moment how often and with what urgency certain Americans have called upon their compatriots to purge and purify Congress and above all, to bring it into line with the needs and the task of the day. The almost universal reply, when any reply was given, was that the Constitution was sacrosanct. But for the most part no reply has been given those proposals and for the most part they have been received with complete apathy. Our own case is so familiar to all of you that I need not enlarge on that.

What I have been trying to do is to hit on one or two things which I believe all Canadians would wish to conserve. And yet I have been at pains not to conceal the facts that those things I have instanced have a certain precariousness of tenure. Human institutions are always like that. When such catastrophes are loosed upon the world as our generation has seen, then the solidest foundations are threatened, not by conspirators, not by plotters, at home or abroad. No, but by disintegration in themselves. Human institutions, as the very phrase suggests, are cemented together by human wills, desires, hopes, fears, and above all, by a general human understanding and intelligence. But when men are content, decade after decade, merely to idolize a frame of things erected by their ancestors and which they, themselves, care nothing about, but even deride, saying, such things as: "Politics is a dirty game", then it is only a question of how long that structure of things, half-idolized and half-despised can continue. So many convulsions have happened in the last few years and so listlessly and carelessly have we Canadians watched them or neglected them, so complacently, too, have we accepted the empty futility of so much in our party system that—who can say? It may well seem strange a few years hence that anyone should have thought as late as 1933 that parliamentary government in Canada could continue.

But I am not anxious to make prophecies, one way or another. I do go so far as to say that Balfour's prognostication, whether gloomy or not, was shrewed and penetrating and had ample historical warrant. And if it applies to Britain it is not without application to ourselves.

Let us take another step in our argument. Let us suppose our leading men, of all parties and faiths, could agree on such things as have been the warp and woof of our life for the last two or three hundred years. Could it not be supposed that on the foundation of that agreement they could build a little more widely, a little more broadly and a little higher, by agreeing on progress made in the last century or so; such things as the equality of the sexes, state supervision of mines and factories, the abolition of slavery, and a dozen other things? Let none of these questions be shirked or flinched at. Let them be thoroughly ventilated and when agreed upon, let them be reaffirmed and clearly and articulately stated, not only as a new political charter, very much needed—not a written constitution—Heavens, No—but a new political charter, an affirmation of political belief, if you will, but the phrasing of its clauses would spell out in capital letters certain clauses which remain to be written.

One of the over-worked phrases one hears nowadays, ad nauseam, these days is "Men of vision", but really, men do not need to see visions or dream dreams to realize in these times much must be done and done without delay. We should all admit, should we not, that politics, governments, institutions, exist for man, and not man for institutions. That is one of the least of political truisms.

Very well. Consider the situation that exists in this country at the present moment. This country is literally a vacant empire. One can say that without any of the exaggeration that has saturated so much of the immigration literature in the past. Just what, then, prevents the easy subsistence of the few millions of people we now muster? Just what? It will not do, in times like these, to deal in phrases, to speak of the scarcity of money, the dislocation of trade, or abstractions of that sort. It will not do to say that unemployment is caused by machinery—another abstraction—as though it were more important not to let machinery rust than to prevent fellow citizens from starvation.

Please observe I am not talking philanthropically when I say these things; I am talking in terms of politics; it has been a political axiom for the last 2500 years that revolutions begin with hunger. It is not sound politics for a society to allow itself to be overtaken by this sort of situation, in which two-thirds or three-quarters of the citizens find, or think they find, through improvements in production, that the full day's labour is not required of the remaining citizens and coolly say to them: "You are not working, therefore you cannot eat." So far indeed is it from being sound politics, that it is mere anarchy.

You may think that I am looking too narrowly at the Canadian scene and that I am forgetting that Canada depends so largely on foreign trade that she has been caught in the general maelstrom. I am not forgetting anything of the kind. Indeed, the more intimate one's knowledge of economics, the more intimate one's experience of the ups and downs of Canadian and foreign trade, with exchanges in violent fluctuation, and even more violent attempts made to catch up with fluctuating tariffs and other regulations, the more clearly one sees that some of us are content to arrogate privileges, while the devil flails the unfortunate. But, whether in relation to our foreign trade or in relation to one another, does not the fact remain that we Canadians, *per capita* are an extraordinary wealthy people? I don't mean wealthy in the accumulation of possessions; I mean wealthy in the power and capacity to feed and clothe and house and employ our total number. Can anyone contradict that? Can anyone point to ten millions of people in the whole period of history who have been masters of such resources as we?

It would have sounded, I know, a little like a jarring note on many ears in Canada just four years ago, to say that the decent subsistence of all citizens living in this country was the first charge on the resources of this country. It would startle few today, but I think it would be a great step forward and have a most healing influence, if leaders of all parties were willing to acknowledge their acceptance of that tenet. (Applause.)

After all, we are a generation behind modern Europe in taking such a step. Among the Mediterranean states of ancient times it was a universal political axiom. Ways and means of putting the axiom into effect are the details, merely, and I can not go into them here. That would require a talk by itself. The important thing is to deal with these fundamentals in advance and before the time of crisis arrives. Again, as a mere matter of bookkeeping, Gentlemen, must we not balance such accounts as these before we being to be big again about immigration?—to say nothing of all the political, social and even biological disturbances inherent in immigration.

Such, I believe, are the things we should find ourselves agreed upon if we sat down to discover how far an agreement was possible. I haven't gone through the whole list and, of course, some would lay emphasis on some things and some on other things and some of you here are maybe disappointed that I have made no mention of things dear to yourselves. I have, of course, carefully avoided any contentious things. We may luxuriate in contentions after we have settled and solidified our agreement. (Applause.) Not that I should be in any great haste to seek out gounds of contention when the world is as it is at this moment. Having agreed on broad foundations—I haven't described to you all the details of that foundation—I am obliged, naturally, just to sketch the thing in outline—having agreed on broad foundations, I half believe we should find ourselves in a conciliatory mood, not only about the political and social issues I have envisaged, but about the major economic issues as well. Economics, of course, very largely is a matter for experts but economics has a political side in this way, that it is very doubtful whether any economic theory is good enough to push itself relentlessly to extremes.

You may remember what Sir Robert Giffen used to ask when he heard that anything was *good* economically, or *bad* economically. "How good?" he would say, "As good as the situation existing at present?" or "How bad?"

"As bad as the alternative with all its implications?" But our method, as you know, has been quite different. Being impressed with the advantages of a transcontinental railway, we have said, "Let us have three of them." Hearing that colleges and universities were a good thing, we have supplied or attempted to supply, ten or a dozen of them for a million people. That is no exaggeration of the state of affairs existing in some of our provinces at this moment. Once committed to tariffs, we have steadily increased rates and all governmental parties have had a hand in it. In the same way we have increased our wheat acreage and we are all involved in that, Gentlemen, not merely the West. We have slaughtered our forests; we have encouraged monopolists. Nothing has been too big for us; nothing has been too sudden for us. But neither trees nor nations grow like that and even if we had looked at the merely economic things in an economic way, we surely should have whispered to ourselves occasionally, something about the law of diminishing returns not that anything is ever merely economic except in the textbooks. Every economic action, despite the doctrinaires and the Machiavellis, has its political and its moral side.

Neither am I doctrinaire or dreamer enough to imagine if we follow Balfour's advice, we should find ourselves in one bound in the millenium. Even when a people is moving forward or upward on some great surge of joyous enthusiasm, such as happened England in the spacious days of Elizabeth, even then it has within itself knaves who would betray it, and selfish scoundrels who would grind the bones of their fellow citizens to manure in their own enterprises. These we shall always have with us. But these days are not spacious days. The lights have been going out all over the world, as Grey foresaw they would. But is it the end for those who speak the English tongue? Is it the end of parliaments, the end of law, the end of freedom? It was in days not less dark than these that Milton sounded his trumpet. The Miltonic note is perhaps too much to hope for at present but is there possible what Balfour conceived of as the barest minimum for our survival? Is there possible a common effort of citizenship?

And with the word "citizenship", I am going to come to a close. The task today is not merely one for experts and leaders. Experts and leaders we need and shall need, Heaven knows. But there is a task for everyone. Any society, any order of civilization, has indeed reached its term and is threatened with extinction when within it, any large number of men believe that they can go on living utterly selfish, unneighbourly, unsocial lives themselves and that the rest of the world will somehow go on satisfactorily, providing they go once in four years or so to elect or defeat a government. (Hearty Applause.)

THE COMMONWEALTH AS EDUCATOR

AN ADDRESS BY PROF. F. CLARKE, M.A. (OXON.)

November 16, 1933

PROFESSOR CLARKE was introduced by MAJOR BAXTER, the President of The Empire Club.

PROFESSOR CLARKE: Mr. President and Gentlemen: I came to Toronto for the responsible and somewhat onerous duty, as it seemed to me, of addressing The Empire Club of Canada, with some feeling of trepidation, but they soon disappeared when I met your President, and I am grateful to him for giving a somewhat despised professor—all professors are despised more or less nowadays, even if they form part of a brain trust—an opportunity of showing for once that he wasn't absent minded.

One of my hosts remarked to me that such a temperature as you have had recently hasn't been known for ninety-three years and then he went on to say that it might not be known for another ninety-three years. "By that time", I said, "we may be *asking* for it, cold!" I was grateful for that opportunity because it made me feel at home, and on a non-professional footing.

I propose to speak on the subject of the "Commonwealth as Educator", but one particular department of the great subject I understand Lord Macmillan explained to you two months ago. I am going to speak more particularly upon the Institute of Education which has just in the last year or two become an integral part of the University of London. I can't mention that without saying that you have had here in Toronto for a good many years, advocates of just that very thing. My colleague, Professor Sandiford, has long had ideas, too, about it, to which he has given expression and there seems to be better reason why he should have occupied this place today than I. Then you have especially distinguished yourselves by giving place to another man who has also represented this view and given it utterance in the person of Dr. Michael West, famed through the world for the study of the teaching of English as a foreign language, the methodology of language.

I just want to give expression to two facts, as it were, to guard my own position. One is that I am here as a sort of self appointed crusader for what I think is one of the great ideas of our times and that I am in no way commissioned, except by myself, to do what I am doing.

The other is that I may be giving expression, here to a view of the British Commonwealth—the word doesn't matter, call it British Empire if you like—to a view which may not be entirely that held by some members here. If that is so, I want to suggest this: Is it not the very essence of this unique organization that we call the British Commonwealth, that it should be a kind of social organization where it is possible for the members to take different views; where different views are taken by different people and yet they are able to live together in peace and harmony in the common whole? It is characteristic and essential of the whole thing. My experience in South Africa has borne that in upon me. I hope that you will be characteristic British citizens and allow me to state such a view of the British Commonwealth as in the word today may not be entirely in accord with the views you take yourselves.

May I set out by talking on a line of thought familiar to us all just now, namely, what is the relation between this vast business of education and the process we all talk about so much nowadays, called "reconstruction"? I will begin with the idea of reconstruction—a word that I don't like. The word "reconstruction" to me has too mechanical a suggestion about it and it suggests ignoring of the fact that the elements with which you build are elements which by their very nature won't stay put. They are self-directing, self-controlling human beings who have their own life to live. In my four years experience on this Continent I have formed the impression that our customary ways of thinking, which we don't criticize ourselves, have become very much affected by the machine and we have fallen into the habit of thinking of whole ethical and social organizations in non-human terms.

I don't want to quote examples, but some things are going on today, particularly in this continent, that suggests a frantic engineer, groping vainly over a switchboard that doesn't exist for gadgets that won't work when he thinks he has found them. Some of the specific suggestions that are being recommended and adopted today seem to me to be drawn particularly and thoughtlessly from analogies in the physical world. Sometimes, I almost think some of the fond hopes we hear expressed from time to time are rather like the hopes of a man who would push the mercury in the thermometer up to make the weather warmer.

I want at the outset to warn against the word, "reconstruction." I think that it will lead us hopelessly astray if we allow our efforts in the educational field to be dominated by that word.

What our modern society needs is reinspiration. That is human faith fighting the suppression of the emotions of the spirit—a human faith, something we are prepared to live and die for, a new spiritual synthesis.

Nothing impressed me more in the Old Country than the fact that every man I had special reason to respect, educators, one or two statesmen and my one most respected friend—every "man jack" of them, without exception, at the base of his mind, was thinking of the fundamental problem of spiritual resynthesis—the reinspiration of a faith that has been lost. So, I would prefer to use, instead of the term reconstruction, "reinspiration".

By starting from there I can perhaps help to give you the kind of focus on which I direct the ideas of education that follow. You will see what I now mean by educational, not simply a gospel of a certain technique of learning, certain fundamentals of learning some particular catechism, and so on, but essentially a revitalization of the spirit. We need our philosophy; we need our methodology, but above all things, we need a sense of direction. We need to know what is the Heaven or ideal to which we are attaining and it is that thought of reinspiration I want to extend.

For this reason, mainly, the British Commonwealth or scheme of life which we hope we are going to hand on enriched, is through and through a democratic thing and we think we know all about democracy. There, may I say, is another idea that has formed itself in my mind. These ideas come in; they can't help it when you are coming in contact with a different environment than that of England and South Africa. Another idea that has formed itself reluctantly is the fact that the influence which has produced all the good things on this continent has not been so much Democracy as we think it has. I wonder, sometimes, whether these democratic ideas, adult suffrage, free careers and those sort of things, aren't rather like the animal's claw and bits of fur that the medicine man hands around and to which he attributes the miracle the medicine brings about; rather a prosperity phenomenon than a democracy phenomenon.

The problems of Democracy were not really faced in the nineteenth century. In the effort to face them we see people that we thought democratic going down before the fray. The real problems have not yet been faced. You can see for yourselves the great part that Canada has to play in that.

That is my general thesis against which I project what I have to say about the British Commonwealth. The reinspiration has not yet been found; it has to be found somehow or other. Our democratic ideas have not been forced to the point where we have to go right through and test the ideas which are the basis of the whole thing.

Before I leave that point: these thoughts that are creeping into the minds of many of us about the democratic idea are the temptation of the devil. We can easily be false to the greatest things in us and when we say that Democracy won't work, let us see whether we don't mean the kind of thing we thought up to the present to be Democracy. Let us see whether we have thought the thing out. The conditions of the twentieth century are going to test it to the uttermost; some of us will go down under it.

You see how I view the British Commonwealth, and I want to take as the field where these ideas will be tested, education; as I understand it, it is the great issue of our time. It is not a matter of a few schools, where the teachers in some places are regarded as a sort of superior nursemaid. It is a question of restoring the unity we have lost since the time of the Greeks when the Greeks realized that at the bottom education and government were the same thing. We have to get back to that.

Let us look at the British Commonwealth. Here I come on ground with which some of you may not agree; I am going to suggest that the continued existence or not of the British Commonwealth is itself a democratic issue in the broad and deepest sense. It will continue to exist; it should continue to exist if it is there for the service of mankind, for the spiritual realization of man. If it is not, I, for one, have no use for it. I am not prepared to defend—I say it quite definitely—I am not prepared, as many would agree with me today, to defend the British Commonwealth against all comers, just because it is the British Commonwealth. If it is what I think it is, we will defend it to the last drop of our blood as so many of us did on the last occasion, where the issue is perfectly clear as to what the British Commonwealth stands for.

That leads me to lay down one or two policies, rather hastily and without time to elaborate, as I could if either one were my particular subject.

I am asuming, first of all, in regard to the British Commonwealth, that organized political unity of the kind that constitutes the sovereign national state, that organized political unity covering the whole commonwealth and governed from a central government, is a thing of the past, that has permanently passed away; that the organized political unit of the imperial Roman kind is no longer possible, if ever it was possible. Our American friends had something to say about that nearly two centuries ago. Again, although there are many ways in which we can derive economic advantages from our membership, in spite of some distinguished—I don't know whether to call them ex-Canadians or not; you know to whom I refer—publicists of Canadian origin, I am not prepared to take the view that an attempted real economic unity of the British Commonwealth would be anything but mischievous and dangerous and selfish and would meet from the rest of the world the reaction it deserves; that, without reference, of course, to the great possibilities of economic co-operation.

Thirdly, I don't think—and here, again, my South African experience may help me—I don't think that we can look for a common culture, for intance, in a common way of eating our meals, and a common code of manners. I have lived now in three continents and in three parts of the British Empire and in each I have had to learn a new set of table manners, to some extent, at least; a new set of street car manners; and a new lot of taboos—things that I have to avoid. I wouldn't have any one set for general use all over the British Empire. That diversity of culture is one of the dangers of the thing; to think that nobody is refined simply because he doesn't wear a silk hat and a top coat on certain occasions is going to ruin the British Commonwealth.

As a colleague from Toronto was saying a little while ago in Montreal, nothing seems to be left but the sentiment, and he compared that sentiment as all that is left with the once solid British Commonwealth, with the smile of the Cheshire cat which was all that was left when the Cheshire cat disappeared. (He was careful to suppress the fact that the original smile wasn't a smile—it was a grin.)

That is the opinion held. If it is true, it means this: what is left is the real essence of the thing; it is not something economic or cultural in the sense of manners but it is something spiritual. It is easy enough to stress the element of sentiment; it is not so easy to analyze and we see how difficult the thing is. It is difficult in a number of ways. It is not a common sentiment.

Take the Afrikanders today; many of my best friends are Dutch Afrikanders with whom I correspond. Recent political conditions show that the Afrikander is coming whole-heartedly into the British setup, but he doesn't come in with a sentiment like yours and mine.

The same is true of the French-Canadian; it is true of the Indian. It is a highly diversified sentiment that is behind it; it is not a unitary common sentiment. There are many different forms of it. Consequently, these different forms of a sentiment within the British Commonwealth may seem to come into conflict and excite very bitter discussion.

I recall, with some satisfaction, the fact that I very narrowly escaped, some six or seven years ago, becoming a member of the Commission in South Africa which was to decide on what was to be the future of the South African flag. It was one of the luckiest escapes I ever had. The conflict was between two deep-seated, deep-rooted sentiments; one the real old British sentiment of the bulldog kind; the other the Boer sentiment, connected with their own dead kindred who had died in concentration camps in the Boer War. It had implanted in them a deep-rooted and perfectly understandable attitude toward the Union Jack. Both were worthy sentiments but they were in bitter conflict.

If you rely on sentiment only in this particularist sense, you are looking for trouble. There is a sentiment, a feeling, a common attitude, that really does bind us together. What is to be the common loyalty that is going to combine in the spiritual whole all the diverse human elements? How diverse they are, you don't know until you have seen a few of them—and you get some inkling there. I want to suggest that there is such a sentiment. For want of a better name, I call it the political sentiment. It is a sentiment as to how the public affairs of political society should be managed. It is an attitude to matters of "public concern." We take a certain attitude toward them. And we, in our British non-planning way, have been steadily teaching non-British people the same point of view and when they come back on us with the ideas that we, ourselves, have taught them and accept our ideas as true for them, as much as being true for us, at the beginning we don't like it. We have taught the Indians; we have taught the South African natives, the Afrikanders, to come back upon us with our own ideas and the real demand on us is the demand to be true to ourselves, to these ideas of free government and the rest which express the deepest things in us. If so viewed, they will come to be a unifying influence on the Empire as a whole—in spite of difference in table manners and street car manners, these are the unifying principles.

And when you think what these principles are, doesn't it strike you that they are just exactly the attitude within the community life and the relations of the individual man to the community life, that is being so widely challenged today. One European country after another is falling and is proud of its fall, almost. Is it not the fact that the time of trial is coming and is on us, very nearly now, when the challenge will be put straight to us: Are the ideas on which we have built our Commonwealth and which we have spread to other people, not British? Or are they not going to be the determining ideas of the future? The issue is not smaller than that.

What are the ideas in the Commonwealth, the real thing that has bound us together? Government by consent; national units of government, autonomous within the system—the idea that we have to keep the national unit and in this we are all willing to agree. The third, you may quarrel with: Democratic conduct of industry and finance. I do not say that necessarily there should be any particular device for doing that. Some way it will have to be democratized. Political and religious freedom without discrimination on grounds of race or colour; security for minorities, of which we are proud, and rightly proud, in Canada. It is a great achievement of Canadian politics; integrity of administration; universal education and freedom of opportunity; and over all, the supreme rule of law and the ideal of a society where dissimilar modes of life may be followed in harmony and peace. When we talk about loyalty to the British Commonwealth, isn't that what we mean? I think it is. To these principles, our loyalties are directed.

I give a personal illustration of that. I had a visit a year ago from an old Afrikander friend who is now high up in the world of educational administration in his own country and it was a delight to see him. He was an old student of mine who began life as a poor white; he is now an educational administrator in an important position in South Africa. While he was staying with me, I naturally had a number of Canadian friends in to meet him and as we sat around after supper, talking, I was surprised at the acceptance which these ideas had in his mind and I came to this conclusion: that that man's mind was the most British mind in the room. That is to say, he talks most naturally and most sincerely in acceptance of the basic ideas which are the essence of the British system, without exaggeration, without self detraction. I wonder sometimes, if we don't want another word than "British" to describe these things. I hope not. But you see what I am driving at.

It was my pleasure during my South African days to have a little conference with a Hindu, Mr. Sastri. I found that the Hindu's grasp of the ideals of the British

Commonwealth was more clear and sure than my own. That is the situation.

And may I tell another South African story to illustrate the same thing in another form. In spite of differences in history and language and all the old quarrels and unhappy, far-off things of battles long ago, these essential things do unite us. On the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales, he went through South Africa and had a great time. Just at that time, General Hertzog had become Prime Minister. Both the Prince and the General had been warned before they met to be careful what they said, and when they did meet, they were both so sensitive that they shook hands and stood speechless! Neither said anything. But that atmosphere soon passed away. The old Boer, with native dignity and his desire to be courteous, and his radical understanding at bottom of the essentials of the British system, was out to do his best.

On one part of the Prince's tour, he had to visit and take lunch at a little town away on the high veldt in the Transvaal, where the people were all Dutch speaking, very largely Nationalist, with a Nationalist Mayor. The Mayor hadn't had any experience in that sort of thing. He wasn't accustomed to the etiquette of the occasion but he knew that he would have to propose the Toast to the King, and he was a little in doubt as to whether he would compromise his political position with his colleagues in the place. So he consulted one of his experienced legal friends, a politician who gave his advice. He said, "It is just a conventional thing. It is done on all these occasions" and he told him in Dutch what to do. "You wait until the right moment and I will give you the wink. I will be there and all you have to do is to take up your glass (with something better than water in it, perhaps—I should say 'something stronger than water in it'; that is the right thing to say in Ontario); you take up your glass and all you say is, 'Gentlemen, The King'." And then he went on to tell the Mayor in Dutch that it was always done on these occasions and the least said about it, the better. The Mayor pondered on it for a week and he got his instructions badly mixed up, with the result that when the time came, he got up with the air of dignity that only the Boer can command, took up his glass, pulled himself together and said, "Gentlemen, the King. His Majesty is always drunk on these occasions and the least said about it the better." (Laughter.) I am told that the Prince was so impressed by the humour in it, that he almost fell off his chair. There is your touch of nature. That same old Mayor put up a bitter fight on the political platform. He said the most outrageous things about the Union, enjoying himself, I think, all the time. He is really just like ourselves.

I have deliberately spent most of my time on the explantion of the philosophy of the thing because, the institution to give expression to that can now have its adequate setting. The democratic order of life is the real spiritual bond between us. If that thing, by the very nature of the case, has to be created in the individuals of each generation, our educational problem is our supreme political problem. It is the one direction, the one means by which you are going to maintain that unique system, with its world wide and highly diversified character. What is needed now—the thing will grow as all these things grow in response to the need of the moment, but as a distinguished Spaniard has put it, "But the British way follows the undulations of fact, like a glove fitting on a hand,"—but at the moment, the one thing we can see to be clearly necessary is some more adequate and better organized means of exchange so we can meet together and find what this is on which we really agree and where the diversities come in—a Canadian way of expressing it; a South African way of expressing it—a native African way; a Hindu way, and what other ways! —to find what is common. And that is the philosophy lying back of this new Institute of Education which is intended to be an integral part of the vast scheme which Lord Macmillian explained to you. It is to be one of the central activities of the University of London, with its home on its new site in London.

The unit is there already in the form of a well equipped college, formerly under the control of the London Council and only recently transferred to the University of London. It is a University, free from public direction, a central part of a fee teaching University and that is the position the thing should be in. Its organization is rather undeveloped at the moment, but it is under the able hand of the Director who is a veteran in the whole field of British education, Sir Percy Dunn. Under his able hand, the solid foundations have been laid. The further growth depends very largely upon the full and adequate understanding of the situation by the rest of the Empire, and particularly, the Dominions.

I don't want to worry you with details of the organization but the general idea is not that it is a place for sending out bureaucrats to tell the Dominions and the other parts of the Empire how to do their educational job. The essential idea is the adoption of this democratic means of inspiration which is the very life blood the very spirit of the Commonwealth. Those who go will go on equal terms. A permanent staff is drawn, partly from England, partly from the Dominions and elsewhere. It is hoped that there will be Indian members on the staff. In addition, there is to be a visiting staff, constantly flowing through the Institution, of administrators, teachers, professors, educators, from other parts of the Dominions, both giving and receiving. You will have that growing contingent of people, in themselves in a position to influence educational policy, coming into contact, and as a result of that, you will get a better grasp of the common idea, and a better understanding of the relations of the various differences, too.

Canada and each Dominion can help, as I am trying to help today, by spreading the idea and studying, not only the British Commonwealth, but the whole world crisis at this time. It can help by advising students, though not young people; (though there is a place for the young students fresh from university.) The thing in mind is rather that the students should be the men who have been in the field, struggling, if you like, for ten years or more. That is the man to go at this thing.

One thing we can do is to help Canadians to share in this movement, not only by receiving but by giving.

To explain that, I finish with a quotation, not from a British source at all, but from an American writer who has written what I, myself, regard as the best written, the most accurate and the most entertaining book I know on the British Empire—Professor Elliott of Harvard. This is how he concludes:

"Because of her exposed position and of her imperial obligations it is not too much to say that the problems of western internationalism and democracy are being faced by Great Britain in a form big with meaning for the future of our whole civilization. If Democracy fails in England to meet the challenge of world leadership, of harmonious international order—a leadership that we as Americans in some measure have abdicated to her—the chances of Democracy and permanent success seem slight elsewhere. For British Democracy is pioneering in an effort to reconcile social control and national planning with the flexible play of economic powers and the retention of individual initiative.

"The poised Athenian way of life and the stoic Roman virtues of public service for which British tradition stands are a precious heritage to her dominions. It will be their trust to support and preserve in other lands, too, the spirit of English liberty and English justice that still keeps warmly alive their attachment to the Mother Country.

"It is for the statemen of the Dominions, too, and the whole people of the new Empire to prove equal to their task—world peace, the collaboration of classes in industrial prosperity; the reconciliation of trusteeship with colonial rule, of nationalism with international co-operation and of Democracy with strong leadership and economically efficient government. The labours are Herculanian and none but the most dogged courage, imbued with the pride of Empire and the strength of a great race could face them unappalled."

That is not only a great opportunity; it is a great challenge. It is with regard to the meeting of that challenge in my own particular field of education that I have spoken of today. You have been most attentive in listening to me dealing at such length on such a wearisome subject as Education. (Hearty Applause.)

THIS PLANNING BUSINESS

An Address by MR. W. H. MOORE, M.P.

November 23, 1933

Mr. Moore was introduced by Major Baxter, the President.

Mr. Moore: Mr. President and Gentlemen: The way of public life has its difficulties. Your President has referred to my little book which I wrote and which I frankly stated was written at the instigation of an anonymous correspondent who asked me to stop making speeches and settle down to work and solve the depression. I thought the best way of doing it was to express my views in book form. And the other day, in The Journal, a professor up at the University said he was going to write me and ask me to stop writing books. Of course, it is only fair to me to say that the good professor belongs to a socialist party.

But, really I am under no illusions as to the value of talk—of making speeches. I revived my memory a bit by talking to your President and I find that this Club has been in existence for about thirty years and within that time you have held many, many meetings at which you have had the wise men of Canada and of the world tell you, the wise men of this city, what ought to be done and The Canadian Club has been doing the same thing; and the Rotarians and the Kiwanians and the Lions and other clubs of the sort have been doing the same thing over a good many years. And here we are, in the worst mess we have ever been.

Now, that is a distinctly twentieth century movement. And I am going to make the frank confession that I have a nineteenth century mind. We have been relying in the twentieth century upon, if you like to call it so, a mass mentality.

Now, these professors at the University do not always agree. The Professor of Psychology will tell you, very frankly, that the mass mind is a weak mind, and then another professor will tell you that we ought to have all our affairs regulated by the mass mind. Now, the mass mind is a weak mind or rather, when we are subjected as individuals to mass influence, we do lose some of our strength of thought, some of our initiative. You know the alphabetic mind. Mr. Woodsworth, the other day, spoke of the mystic letters, the C.C.F., and I have no doubt that those who form some of the other movements, the K.K.K., and a great many other things, relied to a certain extent upon the mysticism of their movement, rather than upon clarity of thought.

The mass mind does not grasp figures readily. I hope that Mr. McFarlane who is present will pardon me if I make a little reference to Quebec. Not long ago, I was in Quebec and I told an audience that we had a per capita debt in this country of, I think, about five or six hundred dollars and I pointed out to them what it meant if they only had twenty children per family and no one seemed much disturbed. But if I had plastered that family's home with a mortgage for the amount, I am quite sure they would have been horrified.

Now, the mass mind—and I call it such, realizing that that is not quite an accurate term—is a sloganic mind, if there be such a word. It believes in slogans and we caught hold of one in this twentieth century. We caught hold of it very early in the twentieth century, although it is now changed, it is quite true. That slogan being, "It is better to plan than not to plan".

I want to analyze that statement a bit. Some of you can well remember the opening of the twentieth century and what high hopes we had. We were going to build a new world. That was our aspiration and we set to it very busily. And we began to plan—and here we are after the completion of the first stage of socialism and that is to be the thesis today.

It was represented in one of the papers and your President rather intimated that I was going to say something against the C.C.F. Now, really, Mr. President, I thought of saying something, something mainly against the gentlemen who belong to the Empire Club and similar organizations.

We started to plan in two different ways and have been doing it industriously ever since. First, we planned by means of captains of industry. May I call them "gentlemen adventurers" who got together in different associations and if you were to read the charters of those associations you would find all sorts of expressions. Some of them resemble the old time benevolent associations and do not say a word about prices or production and that sort of thing, but the fact is they are just the same. That is true, not only in Canada, but it is true in the United States and it is true all over the world. They vary in their form of organization. I think one of the most interesting associations that I know is the "National Association of Horseradish Producers" in the United States. It is, I fancy, a comparatively innocuous organization. Now, that is a long name for a small business but you come to big corporations and one of the biggest is known as the I.R.M.A., or the I.M.A. That is a world organization of rail producers, rail manufacturers and that is more effective--although it is alphabetic.

Then, I want you to remember this point: all these organizations have had various excuses and various reasons, but it is just exactly the same as if you were to take these honourable gentlemen at the head table and say that they are going to work together, and then bind their feet and tell them to run, or put your arms around each other and keep telling them to run. Well, of course we would make some headway but it would be slow and remember in industry, the object is service and we should not give it. The pace would be exactly the pace of the least competent.

Then we have had another form of planning which began very early in the twentieth century by gentlemen adventurers, and that was by merger, bringing companies all together and, Oh, how many reasons have been offered for it in the prospectuses we have received! But I am going to contend, Mr. Chairman, that the main object has been to eliminate competition. That has been the main reason for it. I am going to contend and the facts are there, that it has meant a piling up of fixed charges; it has meant a rigidity of service; it has meant the adoption of mass production in a country without mass consumption. The two must go together. You have had those two things working all through this twentieth century and here we are!

And I am claiming that we are here partly because these captains of industry have tried to plan for us our lives, what we should have and the price we should pay for it. As long, Mr. President, as these clerks of society came here and talked about vitamins and calories, not much harm was done, but when they started to advocate, as they have been advocating, that we should only have so many vitamins and so many calories, then we should pay so much for them, they inject a rigidity into society which has led us perilously near a breakdown.

Now, we have another form of planning. That is "statism". You can call it by various names but it really means the economic state; that the state has taken over under one form or another, or under one excuse or another, rather, different industries. I am not going to dwell upon our adventure in railway ownership. My friend, D. B. Hanna, is here. (Laughter.) Mr. Hanna and I, however, pretty well agree about matters. You know I wrote three books advising the government not to take over a railway and they took over three railways! If I had written a fourth, you would have had the C.P.R. government-owned, long ago. I am not going to dwell on the subject except to say this, that under government ownership, the railways have lost just about as much of this country's money as would be required to pay off all the mortgage debt on the farms of Canada. And now we are going in for a Central Bank! We can't run a railway, but some people think we can run a bank!

Now the reason for running a Central Bank, the main reason, and I must confess I haven't read in detail the report of the MacMillan Commission, and probably my opinion is not worth very much, but I give it to you just as I see it; there are two schools of thought. They agree that a Central Bank is needed to bring about a uniform structure of prices. One school holds that the government should control the mechanism of that structure. Well, that seems reasonable until you think of all the things the government has not controlled properly, although it has tried under various forms and tried very hard and very honestly. You must remember that the government has had some adventures in credit. It has loaned under the Federal Government or the Provincial Government, some sixty millions of dollars to farmers to buy more land to grow more wheat. Nobody seems to want to buy it at a profit.

For that reason and for others of a similar nature I reject the idea of the government ownership and direction of a Central Bank.

Now, then, the other idea, namely, that it should be privately owned. Well, Gentlemen, I am going to give you a picture. There are some five million dollars, I think, required of capital. My, how greedily you would underwrite it if you had the opportunity! Yes, I think I know one or two men in this room who would do it without any assistance if they could control the credit structure of this country. That seems to me an equally impossible situation. But I can't dwell on this planning state. It is mainly in the etceteras that we have had our planning.

The state has undertaken to tell us what we should grow and how we should market what we grew. Would you stop to think just how much the state regulates your lives from early morning until late at night and it has been doing it since the beginning of the twentieth century—and then realize that here we are in this mess because we have completed the first stage of socialism and have done it under the guise of democracy.

What are we going to do about it? If I am right, what are we going to do in the future? We want to be practical. There are several schools of thought—two, mainly. The first one is divided into two classes. I am going to call the first one, and I do it in a nice way, I hope, I am going to call them "scuttlers".

There is a socialist school and the Communist school and they both say, "Scuttle the ship and let us get a new one."

There is a difference between their views but only a difference in means, not in objective. Now, I have been accused of confusing Socialism with Communism. I am going to refer you to something that I read last night, written by an authority. I was turning over the London Economist, and I regard the London Economist as a pretty good authority and in it, the reviewer of a book makes the statement that there is no essential difference between the two in objective. The only difference is as to the method of accomplishing the objective. So all the purging would seem to be rather a waste of time.

I wonder if we shouldn't give that idea of scuttling the ship more careful thought than we have given it and take it more seriously than we have taken it? It may be that they are right. The present ship is listing badly. It is overloaded.

Now, the third school or the second school, if you like to call it that, says, "O, no, don't scuttle the ship; just add more cargo to it and it won't take so long going down."

I want to look now at the new ship. (I have to live up to this introduction.) They talk about Socialism—a Socialist State. There is nothing new about it. Since the twentieth century you have had at one time, nearly every important government, including that of England under Socialist administration—not merely Socialism administered by democratic parties or democratic institutions, but Socialist parties in charge, with majorities, in Europe to work their way. And we are told today that we have planned badly, but in the future we should have an Advisory Economic Council. That is the way, if you like, to reconcile Democracy with Socialism.

Well, they have had Economic General Councils in Europe pretty nearly everywhere for years. The first movement, began or took its present form, at any rate, in Germany. It was copies from one of Bismark's Prussian institutions. It consisted of some three hundred and fifty-two people. They were drawn from various occupations—ten groups, if I remember correctly. It was initiated in 1919 and was a direct effort to head off the extension of the movement in Russia to Germany. It was done with German thoroughness. I am not going to say that it hasn't produced results but you know the condition of Germany today. They have had an Economic Council there.

In France, for many years it was copied almost directly from the Council that was instituted in 1601 under Henry, the Fourth.

Now, I may have a nineteenth century mind, but I haven't a sixteenth century mind and that is what planning means.

But the acme of the thing has reached a limit in Italy. There, Mussolini, referring to his General Council, makes a comparison of it with a general staff of an army—giving orders and seeing that they are carried out.

That is what we are heading for. We must head for that if we go on loading an overloaded ship.

Then there are some people who say, "O, but national planning is wrong. We should have (we say it here)

Empire planning" and they say it in England. The Federation of British Industries advocated that some one, ourselves, probably, in conference should regulate what each portion of the Empire should do. Now, then, we form a most effective unit. I want to make this plain: I am all for trade between British men within the Empire but I am not for trade that restricts our autonomy of action. (Applause.) Then, we fall into a quota system. It is working in a way but it isn't working altogether well.

We have to look at England's point of view just as they have to look at ours. They have established boards to decide what they shall import with the idea of raising prices. They have succeeded in raising prices. The other day they had to establish a board to see that prices weren't raised too high because the consumer had made an objection.

We have to realize that we can't absorb all the export trade of the United Kingdom and when the United Kingdom gives us preferences on food products, it raises the cost of labour and handicaps the export industry throughout the world.

I believe in a friendly association, but above all, the preservation of our individual right of action. (Hear, Hear.)

Then, we are told, finally, that the apex toward which we must work is world planning. These clerks of society who have performed splendid work at Geneva have now outlined a plan for the regulation of industry. We have had, as you know, a wheat agreement brought about by world conference. Now it is proposed that the same group should give us a similar agreement and go on with the sugar beet and other agreements, telling us what we should grow and what we shouldn't grow and how much we should grow.

I must confess that I have a nineteenth century mind. I look askance at the world planning in Moscow and Geneva, alike. I can see no hope, no future if we go on as we have been doing in the past thirty years in trying to have the few plan for the many, instead of allowing the many to plan for themselves. The only future I can see is that we should jettison some of the load, that we should bale the ship, that we should repair it and restore competitive economy. These slogans are all right; it is very good to say that it is better to plan than not to plan, but who is to do the planning?

I have got one slogan that I want to leave you today. I have damned slogans a bit but I will give you one: It is better to think than not to think. (Loud Applause.)

RUSSIA

AN ADDRESS BY MR. CARL J. KETCHUM, M.C.

November 30, 1933

Before introducing Mr. Ketchum, Major Baxter, the President, paid tribute to the late Sir Arthur Currie whose death had been announced in the morning papers.

MR. KETCHUM: Mr. Chairman, Members of The Empire Club: I believe that you were invited here today to listen to what I had to say specifically on the subject of "Soviet Russia's Fighting Forces". That was one of the series of lectures that I was scheduled to deliver. After a few words with your President, preceding the luncheon we decided that as this is a new audience, I might cover a much larger field and deal generally with the Russia of today, the Russia that I saw this summer when I went there as the guest of the Canadian National Council of Education and spent about three months travelling, for the first time in my experience, in twelve republics, and autonomous regions, in the land known as the Union of Soviet Socialistic Republics.

I would first like you to appreciate the territorial enormity of this land; the complexity of language, etc. It is a land of approximately one hundred and sixty-one millions of people, embracing one hundred and sixty-one nationalities and speaking, at least one hundred and fifty languages; and, formerly, until religion was abolished, practising one hundred and fifty different religions.

The Union is divided into about twenty-eight governing regions, seven of them being full-fledged, independent republics and the others being what they call autonomous regions with their independent government.

The whole Union is governed by five hundred thousand Communists. There are only five hundred thousand Communists in all Russia. It is not always fair to assume that every Russian citizen you meet is a Communist. The power of the Union is centralized in what they call a Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party. The Communist Party meets in solemn congress every two years and there appoints and confirms previous appointments of its members of the Central Executive Committee, about fifty in all. They are the governing body in Russia.

I have given the general construction of Russia as it is today. Most persons usually assume that Russia is one single unit; actually it is a composition of states, very much like the United States of America, about twenty-five in all.

Instead of remaining in Moscow as on previous occasions my duty in daily journalism demanded, I sought and obtained, on account of my invitation from the Council of Education authority to travel rather extensively and, quite frankly, I had facilities to visit factories that I might not have had as a journalist. It gave me a very intimate knowledge of conditions as they exist in Russia today. I was anxious to ascertain to what extent the first five-year plan had triumphed; I was anxious to ascertain the prevailing conditions on the farm lands, especially under the new collective farm system that obtains in every part of Russia for eighty per cent of the farm lands are now collectively owned.

Before taking you into one or two of the factories and telling what conditions prevailed there in the last two years, I would like to give an idea of what the first five-year plan is and what the second plan stands for. The first plan was conceived in 1928, in solemn congress by Lenin and leaders of the Central Executive Committee, standing before the General Congress of the party, I should think, five or six or seven hundred delegates, and they finally approved a plan to convert Russia from an agrarian industrial state into a self-contained industrial agrarian state. In other words, they wanted to reverse the revenue from agriculture to industry. In the old days, eighty-five per cent of their revenue was derived from agriculture. Today, it is the aim and purpose to convert Russia into a self-contained industrial state from which she will derive the large percentage of her revenue from industry. They claim that they have succeeded to the extent that forty-nine per cent now comes from industry, from the factories and the remainder from agriculture. That may or may not be so. Personally, I am inclined to doubt that, because an artificial price is placed by themselves on industrial production and therefore it is quite possible that agriculture still predominates.

The first five-year plan's task was to convert Russia into an industrial agrarian state in five years. Therefore, the first step was to furnish what industrial machinery was necessary to produce in that direction and for that reason, the Russians imported a foreign group of engineers, consisting of about one hundred and eighty-five Americans and one hundred and fifty Germans. A group of foreign engineers built the background of the organization that was to carry through to completion the five-year plan. They were brought at large stipends to Moscow on five-year contracts, the condition being that they must fulfil the conditions of the contract, so far as production was concerned.

The idea was to electrify Russia; to provide, for example, a dam that would render in a short time an enormous increase in electrical power throughout the Soviet Union.

Also, the plan provided for the collectivization of farms. That is, it converts the majority of the farm land from individual holdings into enormous collective holdings on which, as was the case with a number that I visited, at least ten thousand peasants contribute to the production from a single farm. About sixty per cent of their yield in wheat, corn and rye is returned to the government for the service the government renders in having directors for the farms and interest on the original investment. The remainder of the profit, they keep for themselves, having sold the surplus on the open market.

You have the general idea of the first five-year plan. Did the first five-year plan succeed? My answer is that I think in industrial construction, it did. By that I mean that they have actually created the enormous industrial works, and the great metallurgical works.

There is a large factory located at Stalingrad. I am not sure that they are not producing about fifty thousand tractors a year; at any rate that was the plan—that they should begin producing tractors from one tractor works alone. I made it my business to go there at some considerable distance off the beaten track, going down the Volga River. I remained in the factory to ascertain to what extent they were actually producing tractors. I am quite convinced, that so far as the principal works are concerned, they are producing tractors. Whether fifty thousand or not, I am not prepared to say, but certainly many thousands of tractors are being produced every year. Some engineers tell me the tractors are defective in workmanship; that they are defective and fall to pieces after the tractor finds its way into the field. For example, ball bearings may be missing, or a wheel drops off. Evidence I did see in the tractor works was that a great many tractors were brought back for repairs. But, in a general way, they are producing on a large scale, tractors, motors and machinery.

I had written about Russia in previous years and it had been said to me, "O, yes, they have wonderful works, but are they producing anything? Is there anything coming out of the factories?" I said, "I don't know. The next time I am in Russia, I am going into the factories". As far as actual construction of the enormous works are concerned, they have produced the factories;

whether they can retain the tempo of production, I can't say.

Employment conditions are still very bad. The food question is still very, very acute. That is so, not only in urban centres but on the farms of Russia, as well. In the Ukraine and the Northern Caucasus, in the winters of 1931 and 1932, I don't think it is any exaggeration to say that at least five million persons perished of starvation—five million and possibly more than that. I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that in the winters of 1931 and 1932 the death rate throughout Russia doubled, owing to malnutrition and lack of food, because the food crisis, Gentlemen, was very, very crucial and had it not been, may I add, for the turning of the tide this summer when they had the best wheat crop since 1913, combined with the factor of American recognition, I doubt very much whether the Soviet regime could have gone on very much longer without drastic action in various sections, so far as Communistic policy is concerned. In the Ukraine and the Northern Caucasus, these conditions were brought about owing to drought because weather affects conditions very greatly. They had first the consideration of drought in 1931 and the crops, therefore, suffered.

Also, they have left in the Ukraine, large numbers of the Kulak class. They had been exterminated in most other parts of Russia because they were considered a danger to proletariat society. They had been left behind in the Ukraine for some reason or other and, whether they found that the drought had caused general disorganization among the peasants or not, anyway, they decided that the time had arrived for what was tantamount to a small sized rebellion. Although the world has never known the extent of the uprising, through the strangling of the press, the Kulaks came to grips with the Soviet power with very serious consequences—buildings were burned, cattled destroyed, thousands of Kulaks, I imagine, were killed, but the poor peasant, of course, was the man who really suffered in the end, for at the end of the harvesting seasons of 1931 and 1932, there was no grain in the Ukraine at all which meant that there was no bread and even a Russian can't live long without bread.

Mr. Walter Durant of the New York Times and I compared figures and we decided that about two million made pilgrimages to the cities in a hopeless quest for food. They came to the cities and there the conditions were very bad, particularly in Odessa, which I visited in the summer.

But conditions have altered. This year—perhaps they wouldn't admit that it was by the Grace of God—they have had the best wheat harvest since 1913 which was a record year in wheat alone. I saw evidences of a fine harvest everywhere I went.

They certainly had the tractors and they had the organization. After the catastrophe of the holocaust in the Northern Caucasus they sent down shock brigades because they were determined at all costs to consolidate their forces there. The result was that they were very well organized this year and from all the best reports they are back on terra firma, as far as the Ukraine and the Northern Caucasus are concerned. That means that for the first time in three winters, the average Russian worker and peasant alike will eat bread. That doesn't necessarily mean that he will not eat meat. There is a great scarcity of meat still. That is the explanation of the reports you heard about difficulties in the Northern Caucasus and the proximity of Russia to a severe crisis until this summer.

American recognition has had a tremendous effect on the morale of the people. I saw a new buoyancy of spirit that I had not discovered in my previous years of travel there. America is looked on as a friendly democracy. They decided that when America would recognize them they would be a power and a support and a friendly alliance in every sense of the word. The recognition is hailed as being the equivalent to a credit, "ad infinitum".

They consider that actual gold will again begin to pour into Russia. Whether that is going to happen, I can't say myself.

Now, just a word about the second five-year plan. They speak of the first and the second five-year plans. It was the way the whole system was divided in years past. There is the period of economic policy and the period of collectives. Down through history, you will hear of the period of the first five-year plan. Now, they are in the period of the second five-year plan. Its fundamental aim and purpose is the holding of the bag of oats for the people, so it is something on which they can pin their hope for the next two or three years and follow Stalin into the labryinths of his future plans.

The second plan is intended to raise the standard of living of the workers. They argue that now that they have their enormous industrial work constructed, and more or less paid for, they don't need to export so much. That is what they would say to Mr. Bennett when he talks about wheat. They would say that under Stalin's plan they are not going to export so much wheat. They need it for their own consumption. They are going to increase commodities in light industry and increase the production of materials and commodities for home consumption, as opposed to export under the first plan which was necessary for the payment of commodities purchased abroad.

They are going, furthermore, to render or bring about what they label an absolutely classless society. That may have a significance you don't understand. It may mean —I hope so—that they are going to provide a level of the wages between the so-called brain worker and the manual worker, for in Russia today, the laborer is the privileged class—the sort of "nouveau riche" of today, whereas the brain worker does not receive nearly so many privileges. That is very hard properly to appreciate. However, they propose under the terms of the second plan to present to the world an absolutely classless society. That also carries a significance. They will also do away with any remaining Kulaks who are members of the old Bourgeoisie who still have some possessions.

The food crisis is still very difficult. They hope under the terms of the second plan to begin producing for home consumption.

You ask why there is no unemployment in Russia. The answer is that their exists in Russia a system of what I call "pressed labour" which is unparalleled in the world outside. For in Russia today the system of labour is this: Stalin says: "Fellow Citizens and Countrymen, there is work for all but he who would live must labour". That means that they will create work for you, but they, in turn, expect you to work, no matter what it is. They will give a man a job as a shoemaker, even though he would be better as a blacksmith. They will create a job as a typist for a woman who before was a window cleaner—but he or she must work if he or she is going to eat. "He who will idle must perish". It is very effective in this way; if a man does not turn up for his daily task in the factory within the first five days of the month, if he fails to turn up or give good or just reason to the doctor of his factory, he is cut off his ration card for the remainder of that month, as well as losing his wages. To me it is one of the harsh things about the system and one of the things about the Soviet system that I do not like. I do not think that the average Canadian worker would like that sort of thing.

That is one of the points about the Russia of today. They have an absolute system of pressed labour. I am not here as an anti-Soviet propagandist. I refuse to be that. I think it is a much more interesting subject, dealt with subjectively.

But the Soviet has a system of pressed labour in that form. You can't get a ration card unless you go to work.

You have in Russia an absolute dictatorship of the proletariat. There are three forces which maintain it, that consolidate or protect it from the revolutionists. They are the army, the secret police and propaganda.

They have the most aggressive propaganda, well organized and cleverly concealed, that the world has ever seen. Its effects are shown in the schools, in the universities, in the streets, in the newspapers and in the magazines. It can be seen, right down to the tiniest tots coming out of the nurseries.

I would like to tell an anecdote in this connection. They have in Russia a pioneer movement which is the equivalent of the Boy Scout movement here. There, again, they are given the Communist, anti-religious teaching at the earliest age, until today, if you mention the word "Christmas" to a youngster of ten years of age, he simply gapes at you. There is no such thing as Sunday, Monday, or anything of that kind. The old western week has disappeared. There is one day of rest.

It all comes back to the propaganda system that works in the schools and in the theatres and so on. To what extent it entrenches itself in the young mind can be emphasized by a short anecdote of a teacher who came to a school to conduct an examination in mathematics. The teacher stood before the class and said, putting an ordinary problem in mathematics to the class, "If I were to purchase a case of apples for twenty-five rubles and sold them for fifty rubles, what would I get?" "Three years in jail", was the answer. The idea being that the profiteer is the worst citizen under the sun.

"Religion is the opium of the people". I think that Marx was responsible in the first place for that phrase which was carried on by Lenin, and that phrase you will find emblazoned from street corners and house tops in every corner of Russia. Fifty per cent of the churches are still standing. They have been converted into anti-religious museums and in these museums you will see on great banners in bright hued colours, the words, "Religion is the opium of the people".

The Russia Soviet authorities will not admit that they officially prohibit religious practice. But they have the Militant Atheistic Society, with a membership of five million or more under a strong executive of Communists and before I left Russia on this occasion, I thought it worth while to spend a couple of hours with Professor Lukinovitch and I went deeply into the subject of religion with him and he admitted to me that Russia is using every legitimate means in her power, short of actual physical coercion, in crushing the spirit of religion in the people. They argue that religion is incompatible with socialistic freedom. Therefore, by a process of propaganda, they are endeavouring to exterminate the spirit of religion in Russia. I have no reason to doubt that.

They organize a shock brigade if they discover a town somewhere in the Ukraine or in the Northern Caucasus where they feel that there is a preponderance of religiously minded people still prevailing and they send down these shock brigades. They go into the homes of these people and they ask, why they are still clinging to the old-fashioned idea of religion. Churches are being torn down by degrees.

To give again the gravity of the situation from that point of view, I asked Professor Lukinovitch, if they were so interested in liquidating religion in their scheme of things, why didn't they start by destroying all the churches, instead of removing just a few and converting the others into museums as they are doing now. He said, "Because, Mr. Ketchum, if we were to remove all the churches we would simply drive them underground; then we would never know where the religious people were to be found". The religious aspect of the situation could be dealt with at great length, but I will not take up too much time with it.

With regard to marriage, as you probably know, the religious ceremony is no longer recognized and very few religious marriages now take place. No religious ceremony is connected with deaths any longer. If you marry today, you simply go to a Marriage Commissariat. They have the Bureau of Deaths, Marriages, Divorces and Adoptions. If you are going to be married, you go in, sign a register, walk out and you are married. If either you or your wife return the same day—either one of you can return the same day to the same office and declare that you are divorced, and you can send a postcard to the other contracting party saying that you have changed your mind.

There is an anecdote told which shows to what extent this prevails. The story is told of a man who changed his mind. The one penalty in connection with this is that the man must pay alimony for his frivolity. In this case the citizen was called before the Judge; a woman claimed that he had married in haste and had also departed in haste, so she claimed alimony which she has a right to do under their statutes. The Judge listened to the case with great sympathy. Summing the case up, he said, "Well, my man, I am afraid you will have to pay one-third of your income in alimony to the woman you have left". He said, "I can't do that. I am already paying one-third for my first wife". The Judge said, "Well, then, you will have to pay the second third of your income to this woman". "But, Judge", said the man, "I can't do that. I am already paying the second third of my income to my previous wife". "In that case", said the Judge, "you will have to pay the third third of your income in alimony to this woman". He hesitated a moment or so and then he said, "I can't do that because I am already paying my third third to a previous wife". The Judge said, "You are paying the three thirds of your income to previous wives? How do you live?" "Well, Judge, if you must know the truth of it, I am living on the income of my wife's alimony from her five previous husbands".

That is the marriage situation. Curiously enough, divorce is on the decrease. What the reason is, I do not know. But I have read several books and most authorities agree that, curiously enough, divorce under this system is disappearing. I attribute it to the self-respecting attitude of the average Russian woman. They are very artistic and they have a great sense of self-respect. Also, industry is dragging women, more and more, into its vortex. The appeal was made last year for women to join industry. Conditions are made so attractive that they find it very suitable to their taste and in my trip around Russia this year, I found that in many of the biggest factories and doing the heaviest tasks, many times sixty per cent of the workers were women. Many were from the agricultural districts. They give as their reason that they liked the brighter lights of the city.

They have their cultural development which is one of the great things in Russia. This applies in factories as well as in the agrarian centres. In Russia they claim that under the terms of their first five-year plan they have solved, at long last, the agrarian problem that has baffled agricultural countries throughout the ages. They present the problem as this: They say that other nations have not given the time to the agrarian problem. It is the problem of keeping the peasant tilling the field abreast of the cultural advantages which, as the days go by, are accruing to the workers in the city which he feeds. That is why they claim that now they are succeeding so well on their farms. They are encouraging more and more people to remain on the farms and they are bringing the bright lights of the cities to the remotest districts of the farm land. That is true in a very great degree, for under the terms of the five-year plan, many of the largest farms I visited this year, I found out from the engineers that they had actually gone to work putting up buildings

—theatres and sports stadiums,—before they thought of the soil around, the idea being to create the communal centre which would make the farm attractive to the workers.

Gentlemen, I haven't much time longer. I have three or four minutes.

I think you can take it as pretty well for granted that Russia is now more or less economically on her feet for the first time since the revolution. She is pretty well on the road to a reasonable degree of prosperity. I do not think that anything can upset the present power for the next fifty years. I am not personally interested, beyond that time. I think, if we are to face the condition as it is we must recognize that it is a pretty solid institution now. Personally, I am inclined to think that there is a great market there for Canadian goods. But that is a controversial question that I am not dwelling on in Canada. I am not here for one person or another. They require commodities of all kinds. There is no doubt that that need can be met by whatever arrangements they have made with America. There is no doubt that they have made a great trade arrangement.

Just a little humorous touch in conclusion: The Russian is notorious for his sense of humour, the carefree way in which they carry on from day to day, notwithstanding all their trials and tribulations. They are an easy, free-going race of Bohemians, especially in the artistic set where one moves, more or less, as a journalist. There is a good deal of humour; they laugh at themselves a good deal. They kid themselves through the dark times. They say, "Saychas"—it means, "Immediately". You say to a Russion, "Will you dine with me?" He doesn't say, "Yes", he says, "Saychas". Actually, in its literal sense, it means "immediately". It probably means any time between now and ten years from now. It is an expression that indicates the carefree attitude of the Russian people. They don't care very much.

"Nichivo"—it doesn't matter very much. That is the spirit that has carried them through. There is a good deal of humour in Russia.

There is a story I would like to conclude with, a story which was told to me in Russia by Russians. There is more humour than truth in it, possibly. Mr. Lloyd George entertained George Tchitcherin, Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Litvinoff's predecessor, at Downing Street. During the course of the meal, Lloyd George noticed Tchitcherin's secretary get up suddenly and withdraw from the room. And almost instantly, Lloyd George noticed that his watch was missing. He explained to Tchitcherin in a whisper that his watch had disappeared. He said, "I don't want to upset this talk. But after all, a watch is a watch and my watch disappeared just as your secretary walked out of the room". Tchitcherin, quite unabashed said, "Just a moment, I will fix that for you", and he prepared to leave the room. Lloyd George said, "Wait a minute. We don't want to cause any international complications over a small thing like a watch, but it was a family heirloom and I rather prized it". Tchitcherin left the room and in two shakes of a lamb's tail he was back and proceeding, quite nonchalantly with his soup, he passed back the watch under the tablecloth. Lloyd George was quite astonished at the alacrity with which he had done the whole thing and he said, "Tell me, Tchitcherin, what happened". "There was no commotion at all. No, no. Sh! He doesn't know that I got it back!" (Laughter.)

Gentlemen, I did not realize until the luncheon that you wished me to speak on the Red Army today — Red Russia's Fighting Forces, but I brought you some lantern slides made from a collection of photographs which I got in Russia for the National Council of Education. Being an army officer, I was particularly interested in the army and as I had access to some rather good pictures, I had slides made from them. We are now going to show some of the pictures which will tell the story in themselves. I couldn't attempt to describe the pictures in detail but I shall let you see them as quickly as possible.

(Lantern slides shown and briefly commented on by Mr. Ketchum.)

In expressing the thanks of The Empire Club to Mr. Ketchum for his enlightening address, Major Baxter stated that the Club was also indebted to the National Council of Education, through whom Mr. Ketchum was secured as the guest speaker for this luncheon.

DOES LIFE EXIST AFTER MARRIAGE

AN ADDRESS BY MR. H. NAPIER MOORE

December 7, 1933

Before introducing the guest speaker, Major Baxter asked Colonel Geo. A. Drew, K.C., to present a motion to the meeting, in view of the fact that this was the date on which the Annual Meeting of the Club should be held.

Colonel Drew moved that the Annual Meeting of the Empire Club be adjourned until the last meeting of the Club in April of 1934, to avoid any change in the Constitution and any difficulty in regard to dues.

The motion was seconded by Mr. John D. Spence and declared carried.

Major Baxter expressed the regret of The Empire Club that the sudden illness of Mr. James D. Mooney, who had been scheduled to speak, had prevented him from being present but that Mr. H. Napier Moore, Editor of MacLean's Magazine, had consented, at the late hour of ten minutes to twelve o'clock, to act as a substitute for Mr. Mooney.

MR. H. NAPIER MOORE: Mr. President and Gentlemen of The Empire Club: I think that both Major Baxter and myself are in somewhat the same position as the stranger who arrived in New York at the lower end of Manhattan on his first visit, and having spent the day in going from one downtown speakeasy to another downtown speakeasy, was rather befuddled as evening set in. He got into a taxicab, without much idea as to where he was going and after ambling around for some time in the machine, he finally got out up in Harlem, the negro district of New York, though he had no idea whatsoever as to where he was.

To his astonishment, every one he passed on the street was coloured. He couldn't figure it out at all. Everywhere he looked he saw black faces. Ultimately, he turned into a moving picture theatre. The girl who sold him his ticket was coloured; the ticket chopper was coloured; the usher who took him to his seat was coloured; and as his eyes became accustomed to the gloom, he found, to his increasing astonishment that the entire audience was composed of coloured people.

He stole out and, going down the street, he passed what looked to be a speakeasy (that was a week ago) and he went in. He noticed that everyone in the place was coloured. Nevertheless, he slaked his thirst and came out again, down the street until, finally, he came to a restaurant. He went in and the girl at the cash desk was coloured; the head waiter was coloured. He took him to a table where coloured waiters attended him and as he looked down the dining-room, he saw nothing but black faces and he got more confused than ever, when suddenly, through the haze, he saw a white face, belonging to a white man and he got up and weaved his way through the crowd until he came to the white man. He held out his hand and said, "Dr. Livingstone, I presume?" (Laughter.)

So, after two or three hours of black gloom, Major Baxter finally found his "Dr. Livingstone".

To come to a person at ten minutes to twelve on the morning on which a speech is to be delivered at one fifteen, leaves a speaker in somewhat of an awkward position. I, therefore, cannot address you today on any profound subject. It takes at least an hour and a half thoroughly to understand such a subject as taxation or national debt I couldn't begin to talk to you about Disarmament under at least forty-five minutes, and I am somewhat thrown on my resources. I notice that Mr.

Mooney was to speak to you on "International Trade". He is connected with the automobile industry and I can not take his place in that direction because the only familiarity I have with automobile statistics is that if every car manufactured in Canada was placed end to end in one long line, my car would be the last one in the line.

I notice, too, that Mr. Mooney is also a writer of books and so I shall take my cue from that angle of Mr. Mooney's endeavour. I am also connected in an international trade. I am connected with a matter which includes considerable selling and much buying from year to year and year after year. That is the purchase of stories, particularly fiction, and I thought that for a moment or two today, I might try to answer a question that is frequently put to a magazine editor and that is: "Why on earth do you buy the stuff you print?" They ought to read some of the stuff that we read but don't print! The question is put frequently: "Why in every issue must you have these saccharine love stories?" I think that is a question that deserves an answer.

I am quite sure, if it had been advertised that I was to speak here on that subject, the place would have been packed.

I shall not attempt for a moment to pose as a Dorothy Dix; rather, shall I be guided by a very wise citizen of the United States who died recently, the late Henry Van Dyke, who expressed the opinion that falling in love with a girl in a book was perhaps the safest way of falling in love.

Truth is merely fiction with a slightly better reputation and as my daily duties consist of prolonged bouts of meditation over what goes on in the stories, I propose to turn the love story inside out and examine some of the reasons why they appear in every issue of the magazine and why the public can't possibly get along without them. I also hope to offer an explanation of the fact that nine out of ten love stories end in wedding bells. Very seldom, indeed, does one learn what happens to Phyllis and Hector after they are married, and the question is: "Does Life exist after marriage?"

It is rather difficult to trace the origin of the love story. Thousands of years ago they were being told in Indian stories, with pretty much the same plot as we read today, but the real forerunner of the love story that ends with wedding bells was evolved in England as recently as the early part of the nineteenth century.

Now, love stories between one country and another show a marked variation. You can almost tell the nationality from the type of love story they read, on pretty much the same line as you tell the nationality of a nation from the type of its beverages. The English love story of the nineteenth century was the natural product of a country in which, theoretically, at least, most people married for love. In continental countries in which marriages of convenience were, and in some cases still are, the rule, and in which it is not, therefore, taken for granted that the wedding is the end of a perfect love story, novelists and short story writers were then in the habit of frequently choosing as their theme a passion that begins rather than a passion that ends in marriage.

All these differences really don't go very deep. Fundamentally, all short stories are the same, in that they have as their basis or corner stone, whether they are printed in Scandinavia or in North America, they have as their corner stone, "woman". They do that because woman is the most attractive thing in the world and the reason that she is the most attractive thing is because she is the most widely advertised thing in the world. It is because of the virtues and attributes of centuries of advertising in poetry and prose and, in later years, in toothpaste advertisements. They have become associated with the fair sex to such an extent that our heroine has become one or other of certain types. I shall try to outline the various types that invariably appear in a short story:

There is the type of girl who, as the story opens, seems to be the frivolous, flirting flapper; as you get on, you find that in reality she is a hundred percent virtuous as the wicked college boy discovers on his way home and he also, at the end of the story, turns out to be pure gold.

You have another type of girl who never changes at all. She is the quiet, lovely girl, the innocent girl, the one-man girl. She never changes. It is true, the hero may be sidetracked by the vamp—one of these women with the magnetic personality. Everything she has on is charged. (Laughter.) But the vamp, in the long run, either dies or reveals herself in her true colours and the hero goes back to the standfast who has never relinquished her adoration for him.

Then, you have the sun-burned, athletic, reckless, daring, out-of-doors woman, untamed and beautiful, who goes after her mate and wins by sheer courage. She is what we call "the Mounted Police girl"—"she gets her man!"

Then we have the girl, the usually beautiful pleasure seeking girl, who burns the candle at both ends and also in the middle, who is devoted to cocktail parties and flirtations, but deep down, the story reveals, she is fond of children and loves dumb animals. She is invariably lifted from the depths to the status of dignified motherhood by the only man she ever truly loved.

And, also, there is the girl who appears at the beginning of the story as a school teacher, as a governess, as a brow-beaten secretary. She is always regarded by the other characters as being plain and you find that she has devoted her life to the care of orphans or stray dogs. And then she meets a man who loves her for her soul alone, and when she takes off her large horn-rimmed glasses and shakes down her curls, you discover that in reality she is beautiful.

Then, we have the ultra-modern girl, the very sophisticated type of girl who, in the last paragraph, finds out that her dear old mother was right after all.

They are all the same, these endings. They all close with the sun going down in a great red ball behind the horizon, and as he spoke, his voice was trembling, "My Darling, my hands are empty"—Well, you know how they do it! (Laughter.)

Then, we come to the male types. They are also classified in different divisions. You have the young man who returns to the small town from the big city, disillusioned and cynical, to find his childhood sweetheart is waiting for him beside the old brook, and in all the years of his absence has been turning the family grist mill, knowing that some day he would return to her.

We have the strong, silent man, quite inarticulate until in a moment of great danger, he finds the girl in his arms and he hisses—that type always hisses—words of undying affection.

Next, you have the breezy type of hero who carries all before him. His line is usually to dash into a department store and buy everything on the counter, give it to the poor overworked salesgirl and take her off at five o'clock to be married around the corner.

Then, we have the son of the wealthy family who dares all and goes through the mill or the doughnut factory to demonstrate to the girl he loves that he has the stuff in him, after all.

You sometimes have a worm who turns and suddenly bursts into his employer's office and demands an increase in salary, spurred on by visions of the boss's daughter waiting until he has proved his wood.

All this is relished because it takes people out of themselves. People will only read a story in which there are characters they, themselves, would like to be. That is why editors very rarely buy stories in which there are no pleasant people, because the woman or the man who reads them visualizes herself or himself as the character that is garbed in velvets and plushes and pulls out a glittering rapier on the slightest provoction. The dash and the romance lingers on.

Stories change as conditions change and sometimes authors and illustrators get an idea of what the trend is going to be by watching little paragraphs in the newspapers or watching the trends on the street. I venture to say that the storics of the next six months will have a direct connection with the latest film star to appear in the firmament, a lady by the name of Mae West. I will explain that, in case there should be any doubt. Mae West introduced a new style. She made it smart to be pleasantly plump. In Paris, some society leader staged a party at which all the guests were wearing "Diamond Lil" costumes. The couturiers in Paris developed a style and you see it reflected about you in a more feminine style. The result is that the wise editor says to his authors, "People are going back to the kind of thing that was fashionable in the nineties. They are going back to romance, for the love story has no jazz angles". And he says to his illustrator, "Bill, the next time you illustrate the love story, put an extra few pounds on the heroine". That is merely incidental.

To come back to our theme: Why do most short stories end with wedding bells? Both husbands and wives, no matter how old they may get, think of their courtship days as probably the most romantic days in their careers and in the type of things that ends with wedding bells, they recapture some of that spirit. Very few people realize that there is any real thrill to be had in studying the reaction of little Arthur to the mumps; and it is difficult to get a story plot out of ceaseless weeks of skittling and scratching and saving that Martha must go through in order to get a new vacuum cleaner. Therefore, the author of that type of fiction gets his romance by bringing in a third party. He brings in the old triangle—the married girl who finds it increasingly dull to be washing dishes and darning socks, and strikes up an affair with the insurance collector who calls weekly, and just as she is about to fly with him, the little tot in a sleeping suit toddles out and says, "Mother, is Daddy coming home?" And then she realizes that Jim is the only true man for her and she sticks to him.

You have the story which involves the husband whose wife never understands him—the type who goes into a hosiery shop and the girl behind the counter says, "Do you want the hose for your wife or shall I show you something better?" (Laughter.)

Another type of story is that based on the parsimonious husband who is constantly worried and harried by a wife who is extravagant, to say the least. There are a lot of funny ideas about extravagant wives, and most magazine editors have come to regard them with some suspicion. In my experience I have never seen a woman waste two dollars worth of shotgun shells to get a twenty cent rabbit! (Applause.)

Summed up in general terms, we consider that courtship is really the short story of life and that what happens after marriage is the fact article.

As to fiction developed in Hollywood, of course a Hollywood marriage always ends with a comma, but we consider that married life is the fact article because fact articles are read for a much longer period of time than are the fiction stories.

Some wives say that they read their husbands like a book. They don't really. They skip the parts they don't like in a book; they linger over them in their husbands. (Laughter.)

But the wife can't always go on being the gorgeous heroine and the husband can't always continue to be the dashing cavalier, so in the finer works of fiction, we settle down to a study and a presentation of the more lasting and the finer qualities.

I can think of nothing at the moment that is more impressive than the story of the marriage in Cavalcade, which probably many of you saw. It was one of the most striking revelations as to the dignity and the peace and happiness of mind that can be secured in the ideal happy marriage.

I met with a striking example of those finer qualities this spring in the Maritime Provinces. I had gone from Digby around to the gap to a little fishing hamlet on the shore of the Bay of Fundy. All winter long they are cut off from communication, except by fishing boats with the mainland. They are a fine people. They fish throughout the winter and they are content and happy with very little. The family about which I am speaking is a family by the name of Casey. They had an experience that stresses the point I am trying to leave with you. Casey and his brother went out fishing one afternoon in their small fishing boat, equipped with a small motor but otherwise open, with the exception of a small deck in the bow of the boat. A storm came up suddenly, as they do in that neighborhood, bringing with it, ice and snow and sleet. The waves rose high with extraordinary rapidity and they deemed it wise to attempt to get back to the harbour but the wind being in the wrong direction, and the sea with it, kept carrying them back further and further from the pier until they were practically out of sight of land. The waves were washing over the boat and freezing until the entire upper structure of the craft was coated with ice. They dropped their anchor and as the gale increased and there was danger of the cables parting and being driven back on the shore, they took turns all through the night to lie flat on this small deck and ease off the anchor rope as the ship lifted through the onrush of the waves.

Casey had to go and chop his brother free; when he came to relieve him he was frozen to the deck. All the next morning they stayed there. Word of their plight in some way reached the shore and a life boat was sent out and brought them in about three o'clock the following afternoon.

Casey went to bed. The next morning when he got up and came out to the verandah of the house, a friend of mine was waiting to see him and to discuss his experience of the previous hours with him and she said, "Mr. Casey, you must have had a terrifying time", and Casey shrugged his shoulders and said, "The Missus had the worst of it."

That is the quality to which I refer and when the question is put to me, "Does Life exist after Marriage?", I think you know by this time what my answer invariably is. (Prolonged Applause).

ITALY AND WORLD AFFAIRS

ADDRESS BY DON MARIO COLONNA

January 11, 1934

The speaker was introduced by the President.

DON MARIO COLONNA: Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen, and Mr. Mike: I have to address him because he represents my invisible audience. I am much more terrified of him than I am of the visible one because he represents an audience, all ears, no eyes and thousands of mouths—loud speaking mouths—scattered all over the country. I can't look him in the face or know what he thinks about me or know what he is saying about me, so I have to treat him with all due respect.

You know, at least some of you do because you heard me speak last night at Convocation Hall, that I am not an experienced speaker. As a matter of fact, my effort last night was a maiden effort; I have never been on a public platform before in my life, either in this country or in mine. (Applause). I just owe it to the kindness and forbearance of my audience if I was allowed to carry on and bring my little effort to a fairly happy conclusion, notwithstanding the fact that, being inexperienced, I forgot to take into consideration the time factor and found myself rather short of time. Toward the end of my little talk, I realized with sorrow that I was keeping people from their beds. I invited them to go and leave it at that, but they wouldn't.

Well, Gentlemen, the text which I have been set today is "Italy and World Affairs", because, you understand, I have been set a text. The schedule was worked out for me before I appeared here. It was taken for granted that I could say something about it, but I rather feel like a child going up for examination, not knowing exactly what has happened. Besides, everbody has been so hospitable and given me such a royal good time that I haven't had a moment to look up my subject or to prepare notes or anything worthy of me. The few notes I managed to jot down last night I forgot all about five minutes after I got started and that is why I have been so daring as to appear here without a note. I thought I might as well forget it.

The same thing happened this morning. Major Ney's boy is a great friend of mine. He is a jolly little lad of twelve. I like children; I have five myself. I think children sometimes get the right angle of things, so I thought: "I wonder if this kid can give me an idea what I should say about 'Italy and World Affairs' ". Mike's answer (not this fellow's answer because he doesn't talk) after duly considering the globe was this (I used this last night but it is good and I haven't so many gags up my sleeve that I can afford not to): "Italy is a sort of a boot sticking into the middle of the Mediterranean which, as everybody knows, is a British lake somewhere in the south of Europe".

That will give us our angle about the way we feel about "Italy and World Affairs". Our world is very largely a Mediterranean world and there is no gainsaying the Mediterranean is, very largely, a British lake. You have Gibraltar, the Suez Canal and all our lines of communication. Some fools would kick at that. We don't mind it because we and Great Britain have always gotten along together in fine style. We have always been on the same ditch at all times. I have been trying to cudgel my brains—I am not an historian and I may be wrong—to discover some period of history in which we were on the wrong side of the ditch or on opposite sides of the ditch and I failed to discover it.

Some people would like to go back to Roman times and say that we invaded Great Britain. Well, we didn't go very far with that. And I think we left a clean record. You have only to look at the roads in England and remember your Kipling to realize that it wasn't quite as rotten as all that. Well, we lost Britain and we lost Gaul and we lost Rome and last of all, he lost his ?—?—? Isn't that Kipling?

However, I take it that after all the ancient Roman civilization was not so much based on the world, though of course the sword was used, as by certain civilized influences, by a certain trend of constructive thought which, even in those days, tried to knit people together.

We had a long peace, the length of which is unparalleled in modern times throughout the known world. That is some achievement. Then we went under. Times changed. The institution of the Empire wasn't strong enough to bear the strain of altered conditions and a long, long story of servitude and oppression was ours, until the great rising of practically the whole of Europe about the middle of the nineteenth century.

We haven't got the long tradition of safety from invasion and possibility of developing a chain of civilized, almost, I should say, unitarian institutions which go back many hundreds of years ago the way you have. Italy attained unity more on paper and on the map than it was in the hearts of the people.

A great statesman said in those days after the whole of Italy had been united under the King's flag, "We have now built Italy; we will have to build the Italians".

The Great War has been a terrible trial for us. It was the crisis of civilization; it was unavoidable and we had to face the music. There was with us a great trend of opinion that was not favourable to our intervention but the man who leads us today was the man who forced the hand of destiny and threw us into the struggle. As you know, he was a Socialist in those days. He broke with the Socialists because they were against intervention. Whatever may have been the result of our intervention, whatever its weight on the allied side, Gentlemen, you owe that to Mussolini, absolutely and completely to him. That is the man who is leading us today.

There is a big work of reconstruction in progress in my country today. That was set for me as my text last night. This corporate state that everybody is talking about—what it is? I have tried to explain that I was short of time and I couldn't do it. But I think I have given you the spirit of it. I have given the spirit of service which permeates the whole idea of the organization. There is another spirit, too; it is the spirit of co-operation — co-operation between classes, between the different factors of production. We soon realized, at least our leader did, that the problem before us was largely economic. Economic problems have a way of being exploited and of turning into political problems and to rule co-operation out. That, we felt, was wrong. We are facing a world in which the economic organization seemed to be well on the way toward the rocks, if not actually sitting on them. Co-operation, nowhere; class war, everywhere! The employees against the employer—both against the state! The investor, grabbing after profits, not caring two pins what happened his money, so long as he got profits; every man for himself and every man against every other!

That was the sad state of things which had to be met. Hence, there arose a technical problem—the technical problem of getting these people to work together. I should like to go into that. You know we have a syndicalistic organization, through and through, which is in the nature of a new departure on the old time socialistic syndicalism.

Some people fight syndicalism all over the place. You know what a struggle it had to assert itself. You know what happened in Great Britain in the twenties. First it was rooted out, then it was accepted, then it was rooted out again and that in the course of about three years. Still syndicates were on the map. You can't very well rub them out.

There are certain things in the economic world that just happen. Nobody has invented them; they have just developed. You see in the time of old Rome, Julius Caesar wiped out all syndicates which had existed previously and which were called the "collegia artificium". As a matter of fact, he was the counterpart of our leader today. He was also a man of the people who came from the people with a great racial tradition behind, but no ability but an ability or purpose and ability of mind. He might have done still bigger work if he had not been murdered by his own adopted son. Attempts of that kind have been made against our leader. Happily, God has preserved him.

Well, as I was saying, you have to accept certain things. They are there because they are there and nobody invented them. There is Capitalism. There is nothing much the matter with it, except that it lends itself to corners. Again, I am using a gag I used last night. The world seems to be round. None of you would dare to say that it is a pancake. Our contention is that it isn't round because it is full of corners, there can not be any true liberty. There may be a travesty of liberty. There is so much of it that it gets in its own way and that is a travesty of real liberty. After all, the whole story of civilization is the story of the limitation of personal liberty. Some limitations were opposed; some, accepted by the individual. Syndicates were an example of this spontaneous relinquishing of certain liberties of the individual to further a common purpose. People who band together for any common purpose always relinquish a certain amount of their personal liberty in order to be able to organize their efforts and direct them, not according to the whims of the individual, but according to the interests of the class of the category to which the individual belongs. Augustus reinstated the unions in imperial Rome, and admitted frankly that syndicates were there, and since they were a natural growth of economic life they had to be accepted.

That was very largely the argument which we used a couple of thousand years later. They were there; you couldn't stamp them out; you had to use them. However, there was something the matter with our syndicates. They represented only one class of the community and that was the labour classes and the labour classes, following the industrial revolution or the beginning of last century, had only one axe to grind, really. High wages — that was what they wanted, or at least what they thought they wanted. We said, "No, they don't want high wages; they want a high standard of living". You say that it means the same thing. Perhaps it does; perhaps it doesn't. That depends on the purchasing power of your mind. Hence, it was a technical problem which is the problem the labour man has to face. He has to make both ends meet. He has to feed the family and his children. He has to find work to feel that he is not an undesirable member of the community. If he has the right to live, we contend he should be given the right to earn his living. (Applause). You can not bring children into the world and then be content if, when they grow up, fully qualified to work for the community and for the good of the people, nobody wants their labour. That is unjust. There is something wrong about that and it has got to be changed. (Hear, Hear).

On the other hand, we have the employer. The employer is up against financial difficulties, the same as everybody else. The labour charges come on his balance sheet. He is interested in producing goods at the cheapest possible price, not in order to undercut competition, but in order to enlarge his market. That, I believe, is the more human way of putting it. The more we go on, the more we realize that our consumers, the mass of our consumers, especially in a country as poor as mine, is represented by the labour classes. You can't find an outlet for your production unless the labour classes consume, unless they are given a means of consuming. It is to our interests as well as those of the labour classes that their standard of living should be raised; that is to say that their purchasing will be increased.

But, then we have to consider the employer's point of view. One, but only one, is the labour charge, the pay of the hands. Is that all? Oh, by no means is it all. We have taxation to consider. The wholesale price of his produce is influenced by two things, so called. One is the charge on his balance sheet for the labour he employs. Number two is taxation. Hence, pursuing its policy, the government is doing all it can to decrease taxation which was on the producer, so ultimately he may produce at a cheaper price.

There is another dead weight and that is the interest charges on the capital which he has borrowed. High interest means high sales prices. You see there is another field of effort which comes in there. We have got, then, to attempt to reduce the interest charges which weigh on the producer today. We have to try and relieve him from the excessive weight of taxation. Is there anything else? Oh, yes, in order to make the produce go around and improve the standard of living of the labour classes, you have got to control and reduce cut throat competition in commerce. This is revolutionary, Gentlemen, because we must realize that commerce, generally speaking, with its whole outlay of capital and all the labour it employs, is a charge that weighs on the difference between wholesale and retail prices. Now, retail prices are the things that labour is especially interested in. So, in order to make the wheels go around, there is another field of effort for us. We have to bring down the capital charges, bring down the general rate of interest, reduce them as much as we possibly can. We have got to reduce taxation on the producer. We have got to make the things go around without loss, due to cut throat competition in distribution.

Our syndicalistic system has started to work in the first field, the field of labour employment. Here we have open syndicates which are recognized by the state when they comply with certain conditions; namely, the number of their membership, the general standing of the officers selected and the acceptability of their statutes.

First of all, we have got labour syndicates, employees' syndicates and employers' syndicates, too. You can't have one without the other. If these people have to go into a huddle about labour prices, they must have a parent organization. We combine the companies under the person of their manager, as we call the private owners, and we call these people into syndicates. They are open syndicates; they are not compulsory.

One particular characteristic about both kinds of syndicates is that they are not only the legal representatives, according to our law, of the actual membership, but the contracts which from time to time they make with the opposing syndicates let them call them opposing, one as labour and one employer. They regulate and control not only the actual membership of the syndicate but all those people who belong to the same branch to which the syndicate belongs. There is only one recognized syndicate in a given place, covering one branch of production and which represents the whole class, whether in the syndicate or out of it, and which is the legal representative of their class.

When I am talking about syndicates, I talk from both points of view. I am making no distinction between labour syndicates and employers' syndicates. They are two parent organizations, essentially similar to each other. We have from the lowest rung of the ladder in a certain place, one syndicate representing one field of labour. All the syndicates are grouped together in a provincial body which we call a federation, a committee, the members of which are the legal representatives of the syndicates.

Out of the federation, we go to the National Confederation which represents the nation in its whole in that branch. Of these confederations, we have six labour and six employers. The total is thirteen. You say that six and six make twelve. Yes, but you have to consider that there is another confederation, another arrangement which must be applicable to those people which is neither employer nor employees. That is the liberal professions —the artists and those of a similar profession. We have to bring them into the picture; they play their part. They can't be ranged either with one or the other because, after all, they are people who carry out their own work with their own capital or with the capital they have expended in their own professional instruction.

Looking at it from an economic point of view: We have six national federations of labour facing six national confederations of employers. These six (I think I will be able to read them off) are: Agriculture; Industry; Transportation—there are two for Transportation, one is air and sea and one is land transportation; then there is Banking and Credit; and Commerce.

Notwithstanding the fact that we are getting commerce under control, it has its federation and legal class representation on both sides—labour and capital. How do they get together? So long as a man explains that he just produces, that it is one legitimate interest, he just belongs to the syndicalistic system. But when the legal representatives of opposing interests go into a huddle in order to express a new contract of labour which is going to influence and to regulate the whole contractual relationship between labour and employers' interests in a given class, whenever these people come together and form an elect committee, as you call it, they cease to be free individuals, merely seeking the interests of their federation. They are invested with state power. That is to say, they become in effect, government officials—so many little parliaments working out all the little problems as they crop up. Their agreement, after the two parties concerned sign on the dotted line and after it receives the sanction of the Minister of the Confederation which is the Minister who co-ordinates all this gigantic effort, has power of law, meaning that the man in the street makes his own laws. He hasn't got to go to the parliament and vote every five years and then forget all about it, or just make a noise in the newspapers. He is on the job the whole of the time.

That is an interesting point. Because of this fact an incident was told me by a Canadian friend the other day. He said that he had met a Doctor in a train in Italy who was telling him about these things. My Canadian friend hadn't quite got the hang of it yet. He said, "Don't you get up against the government in these things? Don't you have to fight it out with the government?" Quite incomprehensibly, the Doctor said to my Canadian friend, "Why should I have a bone to pick with the government? I *am* the government" You see what I mean by that? (Applause). I can only give an outline in this short time. I don't want to go into this thing here. I have only another five minutes—is that right?

PRESIDENT BAXTER: Yes.

DON MARIO COLONNA: Good! (Laughter).

I want you to get the idea of co-operation that permeates the whole system and I shall just leave it at that.

I shall just have to say one more thing: another specific thing about the organization is that all these syndicates are legally responsible. If they go back on a legal contract, if they go back on their word, they can be brought before the courts. There is a supreme court of labour on top of the whole organization. Three chosen representatives of labour and capital sit over a case when it goes to them. Very few cases go to supreme courts. They are all threshed out before they get there.

You can not confer power on any organization without also conferring responsibility. Power goes with responsibility and responsibility is indissoluble from power.

Well, you see that co-operation is the keynote. The result is this: We have outruled strikes and lockouts and made them a crime against the community. This, I hold, is perfectly legitimate since we have provided another legal channel for the threshing out of these matters without having to disrupt the whole machinery of production which recoils on the general standard of living and may upset your whole plan.

I tell you that we have not a big tradition. We have been working the matter out and it is working along. We have a long way to go but the keynote is co-operation and service.

As I was telling my friends last night, I am not here to sell anything or to try to sell you anything at all. I am not a salesman. But the idea of co-operation is there; it is for everybody to apply in the way they think best. There is a point to which the struggle for life may appear to be legitimate and may be also useful. There is a point, obviously, where co-operation has to take the place of competition. There is a sort of a curve to the top of the curve—I am talking to mathematicians, if there are any here—at the top of the curve you get to the point to which the struggle for life embodying competition is useful and beyond that point it fails. Then it goes to zero. Well, we can work that out. As a matter of fact, I haven't got my maths in English, but I think you get it.

(A slip of paper is placed before the speaker by the President of the Club). He reminds me that I am talking about world affairs. These are world affairs! The main idea is co-operation. We are doing that within our country. Perhaps the spirit that moves us will permeate the world some day and we may be able to work out some system by which countries will get together on a similar basis. The point is this: the world was never richer than it is today. It is producing at a rate that is incredible. People say that there is over-production. There is no such thing. There is under-consumption. (Applause).

If our money systems are rotten, if our system for making the goods circulate — because it is the goods that matter—has become ineffective, we must remember that we cannot stay the triumphal march of civilization because of rotten book-keeping.

Money is just an instrument to make the stuff go around. We hold that it is illegal and criminal to destroy produce to keep the prices up. We are producing stuff and we want it to go around. Profit, we respect, when it is legitimate. We do not respect it when it comes from the artificial corner and that corner we smash wherever it happens to be. The smashing is not done by the mailed fist of Mussolini, but by the almighty workings of him and his collaborators of which I am proud to number myself as one during twelve years of the continued session of a constitutent assembly which is known abroad as Italy. (Prolonged applause).

In expressing the thanks and appreciation of The Empire Club to Don Mario Colonna for his address, Major Baxter also expressed the appreciation of The Empire Club to the National Council of Education for having brought the distinguished body of Italian men and women, of which Don Mario Colonna was a member, to our country.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE

AN ADDRESS BY MR. JAMES D. MOONEY

January 18, 1934

MR. MOONEY was introduced by the President, MAJOR W. JAMES BAXTER.

MR. JAMES D. MOONEY: Major Baxter, Honoured Guests and Gentlemen: I think that we are rather accustomed to having our grandmothers have a kind opinion of us, and to having the Chairmen who introduce us say nice things about us, but your Doctor Hughes here, who I understand is one of your oldest members and previously very active in the work of the Club, has paid me such a nice compliment that I can't help but repeat it and thank him, and express my supplementary thanks for being awfully kindly treated by your Club. Dr. Hughes must have a bit of Irish in him; he must have kissed the Blarney Stone at some time as will be evidenced by what he said. The old gentleman just said to me, "It wasn't your father who made you so nice looking, it was your mother". That is one that went right into the heart.

I am not at all surprised at Major Baxter's surprise that I am here. I am rather surprised myself! We got into one of those situations, where it had brewed along for about ten days and one day I was phoning to Major Baxter that I would be here and the next day that I wouldn't. I am quite sure that his associates in the Club probably said, "I thought this chap was going to speak on Economics. It looks to us as though he was an opera singer".

Now, your Chairman and I have agreed that I should discuss here today, "International Trade". I don't have to remind you that is a very broad, and at least, superficially, a very complicated subject, but I would like to make one thread run through my remarks today and the thread is this: that international trade, like a lot of other things that have obscure complexions, after all, is very simple in principle, and as we go along, I would like to try and reduce a few of these things in international trade that concern themselves with tariffs and rates of exchange and many other things that have superficial complexions, if I possibly can, to certain central terms.

I do not have to remind you that this subject "International Trade", has been a very cold one during the past several years, principally since the inception of the thing called "economic nationalism" that got under way, perhaps eight or ten years ago, quite vigorously, and reached its climax during the depression, of course.

j And, à propos of this coldness of international trade, I would like to interrupt just a moment to tell a story. This yarn is about several men who were seated around a club lounge room one cold winter evening, with the logs blazing in the fireplace and all that sort of thing and as they sat there and observed the various club members as they came in and hung up their hats and coats and entered the lounge room, they observed that each and every man walked over to the fireplace and invariably turned his back against the fireplace with his hands behind his back. They began speculating why men do this and one of the members volunteered this explanation. He said, "Well, it really comes from very old times. At the time that Noah's ark shoved off, very shortly after they were out, the ark sprung a very bad leak and they were all frightfully concerned that the old tub might go down with everybody on board. Just in the midst of the excitement, one of the dogs on board stepped out and volunteered to shove his nose into the knot hole and stop the leak which he did. But after awhile, his nose became very cold and it looked as though he would have to withdraw and then one of the women—perhaps Noah's daughter—came along and volunteered to stop the leak and she put her hand over the leak and quite successfully stopped it. After a bit, her hand became awfully chilly and just about that time Noah came along and volunteered to stop it and he sat on the leak".

One of the members said, "O, yes, but what has that to do with the reason that a man backs himself to a fireplace?" "Well", was the answer, "it explains for the ages, why a dog's nose is always cold; why a lady's hands are always chilly; and why a man's—hmm—well, why a man always backs up to a fireplace".

Now, I think in view of the fact that your country and mine are piling up huge surpluses, constantly, that it is about time for all of us to take this economic body up to the fireplace and give a bit of warmth to the part of the economic body that has had a remarkable resemblance in the past few years to economic trade.

The first thing that we have to confront is this thing called, "economic nationalism", the thing that really got started as you probably know, and I happen to be accutely aware or sensitive to the thing, because it began drying up the ordinary trade routes, perhaps as far back as eight or ten years ago. Everbody became quite conscious of certain of the consequences of it along about 1928 or 1929, and later through the early thirties. But the thing started, as I say, about ten years ago. The most important characteristic of this form of economic insanity was the fallacious belief that there was a great advantage in shipping everything out of our country and getting nothing back in return for it. As we look back on the experience and here try to translate the thing into simple terms, it is amazing that we could have actually harboured this point of view, that there is any kind of real advantage that you can translate into terms of standards of living in a country, that can arise out of shipping all your commodities and manufactured goods, or whatever you work at, out of the country and in stopping everything from coming back in. I submit, in terms of a simple analogy, that it would undoubtedly be rather bad economics as far as the standard of living is concerned, if you suggested in a village that you should ship whatever you are employed in making or producing to some other town or village and get nothing back in return. You would be ready, quite easily, to convict yourselves of some kind of insanity. The whole thesis of economic nationalism, unfortunately, has been put up as the keystone of a peculiar kind of reasoning. The more you examine it, the more you decide that there is a flaw in the whole thing—in presuming that there is a theoretical advantage in shipping the stuff out and get nothing back in return.

There are all sorts of beautiful technicalities introduced to support that kind of thing, but, ordinarily, they fall down. I had a man come into my office and suggest that we take part in helping him to sell our Government at Washington on a scheme for creating foreign credits on raw cotton and this was the gist of his scheme. He thought he could make an arrangement with some European country whereby they would liquidate the credit with some kind of percentage taken on their exports of cotton textiles. He happened to have some experience in international finance, the papers said, and he was rather facile in presenting the scheme. The scheme sounded very beautiful, very technical and all that. He would take a percentage, he said. He had the technicalities in quite good order but I was interested in trying to get at the bottom of the thing, it was perhaps something that nobody had thought of before and I appreciated the enquiry and I asked him to go on with the thing. I asked him to take a special example of a European country and he said, "Take Germany". I said, "Now, where does Germany ship the cotton textiles she makes out of our raw cotton?" He hadn't thought of what country but out of the bag he pulled Abyssinia. I said, "What does Abyssinia ship to America to liquidate or close the circle on the thing?" Obviously, he was stuck because Abyssinia happens to have no products of any kind in any amount that would interest America or that we could buy usefully.

So the scheme, like so many of those schemes that are projected and discussed theoretically, in international trade fall down. When you insist on the projectors completing the circuit, the reasoning fails. And the thing, as I have learned in my own experience is to put in simple terms on an available basis and your answer, in principle, will be very accurate.

Now, I consider that this economic nationalism had more to do with causing the depression in the first place, and in the second place, in continuing it, with its uncertainty and misery and suffering, than any other cause and the sub-causes under which I would like to catalogue in this way, because there are a few principle ones that are subs rising out of the same disease.

In the first place, the economic nationalism stopped the flow of trade from one country to another and because it was not possible accordingly to discharge credits and debits in gold, of course it stopped debt payments everywhere in the world, crosswise and up and down and back and forward. That left the so-called debt structure high and dry. I mean, principally, the international one with the consequent repercussions on the international structure. Obviously, it was the cause of taking us off the gold standard because all that being on the gold standard really means is that you are able as a country to pay gold on the demand of whatever paper, internally or externally, you are confronted with for demand of payment in gold. If you can pay it, you are on the gold standard; if you can't you are off it. It isn't a theoretical thing as some people assume.

The point there, of course,—you go back to the same thing all the time—is that ordinarily under reasonably normal conditions, trade flows from one country to another and these international balances are being settled with goods, or a great part of them. When you suddenly pass a rule that goods are no longer acceptable for those payments, you throw the strain on gold. It can't be met and everything topples off the gold standard.

The next point in the logical sequence with that terrific demand for gold to meet gold payments is that of course the prices of commodities in terms of gold go down. If you believe in the law of supply and demand, you know that the gold prices of commodities depend on the supply and demand for those commodities and the supply and the demand for gold, and as the demand for gold goes up, the price of the commodities goes down. According to the way it actually works by experience, as we have found countless times, the two things confront each other in the relationship that establishes the price of the commodity in terms of gold.

As I say, we have suffered very badly from a collapse in gold prices of commodities and that, in turn, can be traced very definitely to this economic nationalist thing.

And the final point in that particular series is that when you force gold prices of commodities away down, you leave manufactured and consumer goods, high and dry in price. The equilibrium within the two things is destroyed. There is a serious gap introduced and the goods don't exchange. You don't get farm products exchanged for consumer and manufactured goods because the prices are entirely out of harmony, not just because people feel they are out of harmony. You have the very practical point that after a farmer markets a certain number of bushels of wheat at whatever the prevailing gold price is, if that price is low, the total amount of income is very low and there is nothing left over for surplus requirements. All the farmer can do is just buy the ordinary necessities and a great variety of consumer and manufactured goods are left high and dry, entirely without market.

I think that the interesting thing about the whole international trade situation, as far as your country and mine are concerned, is that some people think that we can play around with it and deal with it as we wish and be quite happy about it. That is rather a ridiculous position to take in the face of certain figures that exist, as a matter of record for your country and mine. Your country has certain percentages of available exports—I mean surpluses for export—and so has mine, that you simply can't laugh off.

I am not going to bore you with the statistics, but I have just a few on Canada that I got recently from your Government officials at Ottawa and I must say that I got a great kick out of them because, although I knew that you were inherently an export nation and inherently interested in international trade, these figures have a certain kind of kick that I wasn't quite prepared for.

For instance, in 1929, Canada supplied more than ninety per cent of the world's requirements of nickel; Canada supplied more than fifty per cent of the world requirements of cobalt; Canada ranked third in the world production of silver and gold; Canada ranked fourth in the world production of lead and copper; Canada ranked sixth in the world production of zinc; Canada led the world in the export of printing paper and asbestos; Canada occupied second place in the export of wheat, flour and automobiles; Canada occupied third place in the export of woodpulp; Canada occupied fifth position among the leading commercial nations of the world in imports, exports and total trade; and, finally, your Government officials gave some statistics on your railway freight that I thought were awfully significant. Approximately thirty-three per cent of the total railroad freight loaded in Canada was to foreign connections—approximately thirty per cent of the freight unloaded was from foreign connections.

After an array of just cold figures like that, I maintain that the summary really lies in the freight figures. I think when you consider that a third of your total trade, roughly, is shipped abroad—I mean in and out as it was in 1929 when you were moving along without much unemployment and getting along quite prosperously here, I think it answers the question, automatically, as to whether or not your country has to consider this thing.

The statistics in the United States have about the same general character to them, although they are not quite so extreme. As I recollect, our exports are something around twenty per cent—I mean twenty per cent of our crop is available for export. We have the high spot in cotton of which about fifty per cent is available for export. The other statistics range themselves, accordingly.

It is quite remarkable that your country and mine have this rather close similarity as economic institutions and foreign trade projects itself into the economics of our own situation in a way which makes it quite futile to discuss seriously shutting ourselves up inside our own borders. In other words, you have a lot of surpluses of farms and factories and mines and mills and forests and so have we. In the second place, there are a lot of things you have to have from abroad—rubber, tin and cotton and a long list of certain types of material that are absolutely necessary to carry on the industrial and commercial scene today, and on top of that, all sorts of things made abroad.

I happen to spend about half my time abroad and I travel rather extensively in certain countries around the world and I am constantly amazed at the variety of things that they have available in their shops and places that the American housewife or the Canadian housewife would be perfectly happy to have available. Now, there must be some means of our using some sense in this interpreting of foreign trade in terms of a standard of living and what is available for the average housewife to keep house with and make the family comfortable, and that is what it is finding out, of course.

There is another way that our countries are rather similar in this economic situation and that is in the economic status of certain attitudes about these things in international trade. You have the same variety of fallacies going the rounds, quite generally and popularly believed in, that we have. The first that is quite popularly believed is that there is some way of controlling the world production and the world price of wheat. Now, if you will examine the records, I think you will find it quite interesting to find that in spite of all the different kinds of manoeuvring around with exchange and money, if you look at the price of wheat today in terms of gold, you will find that it was just about the same early in 1933. A year has gone by and the price of a bushel of wheat in terms of grains of gold hasn't paid much respect to our various international manoeuvres. The second fallacy, generally believed, is that you can protect a commodity inside your own borders by putting tariffs on that particular commodity.

Now, that is an old mirage or illusion. The way the thing actually works is this: If you have an export surplus on a commodity like wheat, when you ship that abroad you will take the world price for it, the Liverpool price, if you want to ship abroad and if you decide to go the other way and keep the wheat, your stock will increase and as long as stocks increase, the price goes down and that price will go down to the world level or slightly below it, at which point the wheat will start moving abroad again.

And the third lovely one, the prize of the whole business, is that there is a great economic advantage in shipping all your wheat, your cotton and this, that and the other thing, without getting anything back for it. That is quite popularly believed.

The fourth and the last one that I want to catalogue at the moment is the belief that there is a great advantage in depreciating your currency as a means of putting you in the export business or strengthening your international business and exports. If you analyze very carefully, you will find at the bottom it is just an ostrich-like way of cutting the gold price on the commodity or manufactured product or whatever it is.

Now, the danger in the thing, I mean, ironically, that the principal danger in that lies in the direction of the country that does it rather than in the countries that seem to be harmed by the competition. Getting that back to village terms and terms of industrial competition and all that, in a simple way it amounts to this: If you buy business from your competition at prices below your real cost, you won't last in business very long. I mean that you must be sure you are getting your cost out of the thing and if depreciated currency keeps up the illusion for you, as expressed in whatever paper money you are getting per bushel of wheat, or motor car, or other manufactured article, if that illusion of paper money drives down the price you get below your real cost on a gold basis, your are just giving part of the country away.

Now, I can't discuss the international situation without jumping into the problem of international exchange and here I go—off the deep end. Somebody said in New York the other day that there were only two fellows left in the world who understood money. I am not going to make any pretence at being one of those, but I have quite a lot of experience during the past several years in the foreign exchanges and have been responsible for converting quite a few hundreds of millions of dollars worth of exchange back and forth in one way and another and I would like to tell in a few moments what we have learned about it.

In the first place, great discussions have been going on during conferences—international conferences—in the newspapers, day in and day out about the same thing. We have to get together and stabilize the cross rate of exchange. In other words, we need an international agreement on this thing. To crisp the thing up a bit, if you don't mind my using the terms X and Y, which we used in Algebra in High School, I would like to explain it this way: The cross rate in exchange, I mean the value of a pound sterling in paper and the value of a paper dollar are an X over Y relation, for this reason—

that the pound sterling is X in terms of gold—a rather unknown quantity. I am not saying that with any implication of sarcasm or anything of that sort. I am only saying that the best actuaries and statisticians are employed by the Canadian government, the American government or the British government, in trying to arrive at the proper point for evaluating the pound sterling or the dollar and it is a very risky business because until you pick the right point, you only have to do the job over later. During all this discussion, you have a situation where you have an unknown in X. It isn't possible yet to tell what X exactly is; in other words, how many shillings a pound sterling is worth today; and in the same way what an ounce of gold is actually worth, not by decree but according to the law of supply and demand of paper in gold, in terms of dollars.

So, you see we are in an economic situation where it is very difficult to evaluate the value of X and accordingly, the value of Y; obviously for two reasons—it is rather academic itself to try to agree on X over Y—because you actually have a very different statistical job to do; in the second place, if you look over the records, we haven't been able to agree on much simpler things than that.

I would like to make just a simple suggestion of how the thing must be approached and it isn't very original; in fact it is not original at all. If you have an X over Y, you want to get straightened out, the first thing to do is to get busy with X and straighten that out, and then you get busy with Y and straighten that out, and, fundamentally, we won't get the thing X over Y arranged until we do that because both of the currencies have to finally harmonize themselves in terms of gold, because it is an economic fact, in spite of all the yarns in the newspapers and the long discussions, that international balances are possible of settlement only in terms of gold. There is no nation that has given any indication of really accepting any other nation's currency for credit instruments in settlement of debt. So, accordingly, the thing must be settled in terms of gold in order to establish the cross rate sufficient to decide and get it fixed by balancing budgets and, perhaps, revaluing if necessary, and balancing each country's foreign payment; in other words, it amounts to the old story: You have to put each country's house in order. And when they come to stability, so that paper money can be evaluated in terms of gold, when you bring the two together, they are equal to the same thing—they are equal to each other.

This prophetic business is awfully dangerous but I would like to take a chance on just one. I have this feeling: that England will be one of the first countries actually to stabilize its currency—I mean to set a definite value on a pound sterling and my guess is that when England does that, we will start leading the way out of this currency chaos, because it will clear up the atmosphere a lot to have one of the great countries say, "Well, from now on our paper money is worth so much in gold and if when you bring so much gold in, for it we will give you so much back".

From this on, my further guess is that London will be firmly entrenched again as the financial centre of the world. That is one I would like to deduce this way: If you were operating a bank in a town and several other banks were there and at the banks it was the rather prominent practice to take gold in and get a receipt and have the cashier say to you, "Well, now, yes, a thousand ounces of gold. Maybe we will only give you back eight hundred. I am very uncertain about this situation. It may be nine hundred but we will do the best we can." Now, if all the banks were doing that in the village, and if a certain smart banker would put out a shingle and say, "If you bring a thousand ounces of gold in here you will get it back", I don't have to tell you that he would corral the banking business for that town.

Now, just a few minutes and I will finish this up. I think as you sort of review the whole international situation particularly, from the economic side, I think one of the fundamentals that stick out quite simply and obviously in your country and in mine is that we need our foreign trade back very badly. I was looking over some figures the other day and some of them showed me that in 1928 and 1929, trade between Canada and the United States alone, just between our two countries, amounted roughly to about eighteen hundred million dollars, and it has since dissipated away to something in the area of a hundred or two hundred million. It is a remarkable shrinkage in that trade. I challenge any one to say that that shrinkage has not had a remarkable effect on our business conditions and on yours, and a further remarkable effect on our standard of living. So, I think we are just about due to take a good fresh look at this whole situation. I think we have done rather badly with our economic nationalism; so far, it has caused us a lot of suffering and misery and I think it is about time for us to have a good look around and for both of our countries to have some more foreign trade.

My suggestion is, while we are looking around, why not have a good look at each other? At the time you were having your conferences at Ottawa here, before the British Imperial pacts, some of my friends in New York brought up the question—they seemed to be rather disturbed in some ways about the thing; "wasn't that going to be inimical to American trade with Canada and, perhaps, American trade with the British Empire?" My answer was, "For Heaven's sake ,NO. It is so pleasing and gratifying to see certain areas in the world, certain countries get together to discuss how to get the old pump primed up again, that I, personally, was quite happy about it."

But I would like to introduce this point: that whatever you do in Canada, within the Empire, whatever you are inclined to do in the way of giving Empire advantages and so on, I think it will be very useful for you to keep in mind a lot of the other countries and, particularly, the United States, because in some way or another, if the two positions can be handled properly and you can remarkably increase your trade within the Empire, the added other trade to that would give the most happy results and I think I can say most sincerely in discussing the thing, and I have discussed it a lot with my British friends in England and Australia and various parts of the Empire, that after all the British Empire depends for its strength, its economic strength, particularly, on the strength of each unit. If you keep in mind that, if the Canadian unit as part of the Empire is remarkably strengthened, obviously, that strengthens the Empire. It is the old story, that the whole is equal to the sum of all its parts.

Well, Mr. Chairman, this is about the end of my yarn on "International Trade." In conclusion, I would like very much to express my thanks and appreciation of the honour that Major Baxter and his fellow officers and the members of The Empire Club have paid me in asking me up here. I have known quite a few of your members for several years and I have come to have some appreciation and understanding of the ideals and schemes of the Empire Club of Canada and I am very happy that I have been given the opportunity to express my respect and admiration for those aims and ideals. (Hearty Applause.)

FASCISM

AN ADDRESS BY MAGISTRATE S. ALFRED JONES, K.C.

January 25, 1934

MAGISTRATE JONES was introduced by MAJOR W. JAMES BAXTER, M.C., the President.

MAGISTRATE JONES:—Mr. President: The words with which you have introduced me are most kind. I am reminded of an incident which occurred in a Court down south. It actually occurred. A darky was on trial for murder and he seemed very much confused and very much dazed during the proceedings. He didn't seem to understand what it was all about. He was convicted and sentenced to be hanged by the neck until he was dead, and then he seemed to wake up a little bit for he exclaimed "Say, Judge, yuh ain't talkin' about me, is yuh?"

It was very good of you to ask me to speak to your Club today. I have been delighted to meet so many friends of the earlier days. I joined The Empire Club at its inception. (Applause.) I joined the Club because from the bottom of my heart I loved the Empire, (Hear, hear) and I love every association and tie which binds Canada in fealty to the beloved Motherland. (Applause.)

Two weeks ago, most of us had the pleasure of listening to the cultured and charming Italian visitors who were here. I understand that the speeches of Don Mario Colonna were the first he had made of any nature in public, and it is of interest to us in Canada to know that here in Canada has been uncovered in him a genius of speech which so delighted us by its appeal direct to our hearts.

(Hear, hear). I think that in Don Mario a notable addition has been made to the eloquent Italian speakers, and I feel that he is destined to take a very high part in the public life of the land he loves so well.

Our distinguished guests sketched in such an interesting way the historical background of Fascism that in the time at my disposal I will not be able to deal with the evolutionary details of the movement, but will endeavour to tell you in simple fashion something of what Fascism is and something of what it has accomplished.

Our distinguished guests were indeed most welcome and I think that the National Council of Education is entitled to our greatest thanks for having put on an Italy Week.

I trust you will pardon me if I proceed rather abruptly from one phase of the subject to another, as the merit of graceful transition must be sacrificed to the inexorable progress of the minute hand on my watch.

The study of Fascism is so absorbing, and its methods are so unique, that it demands investigation by any who are interested in the science of statecraft, particularly at this time when all are earnestly seeking a path which leads to the betterment of existing human conditions. Perhaps outside Italy today there is no question more frequently asked than "what is Fascism?" and there is certainly no creed which has been more misunderstood and so misrepresented—may I say, grossly misrepresented.

"Fascio" is Italian for "bundle." The Fascist emblem is a bundle of sticks bound together with an axe extending from the end denoting authority. Fascism is loyalty to an ideal. Perhaps the best definition of Fascism is insistence on co-operation. One will readily admit that co-operation is asked for by every government in every land as one of its basic principles. You will observe that the distinction Italy makes is in the word "insistence." Italy says "We want you to co-operate. We ask your voluntary co-operation. If you won't give it that way, then you must give it anyway." "You must co-operate" is the key-note. The inspiring ideal is that of working together and making sacrifices together of gain or leisure for the common good as comrades did in the Great War. As a matter of history, Fascism was born in the spirit of the trenches among returned men who would not allow politicians to throw away the fruits of their victory. Fascism came into being as a movement to smash the rich. This, it eventually did, after years of battling, wounds and death, extending from March 1919 to October 1922, the date of the Fascist March on Rome. On this date more than 2000 Fascists laid down their lives in order that Italy might live. You will see that Communism has something for which we should give it credit, viz: it was responsible for the birth of Fascism. Fascism was originally a patriotic movement to overcome Communism. It grew, developed and expanded and today Fascism is the spirit of a nation; today Fascism is Italy.

In describing the Constitution of Italy, the corporate state, as it is called, for the sake of clarity and simplicity I shall use the word Unions to denote each of the industrial bodies recognized by the State. As you are aware, in Italy the word Corporation does not mean a joint stock company, but it is used to describe the Unions at the top. That is, the Union of Unions in which both employer and worker are represented. Various other terms are used, such as syndicates, guilds and confederations, to denote the different industrial bodies, but they are all unions. All Italy, outside special classes, such as the judiciary, is mobilized into unions. Every man, whether he is a bank manager or a farm labourer, a doctor or a bricklayer, is either a member of his recognized local union or associated with it. No employer may be a member of a workers' primary union, no worker may be a member of an employers' primary union. Both interests, however, are joined at the top in the corporations. One is not compelled to join his local union, but must pay his fees to it whether a member or not. In this way you will observe that all the electors of Italy are embraced in and represented by the Unions. There are no territorial constituencies. There is no member for Rome, or for anywhere else. Election to a legislative body is from the Unions and that body, whether it is called the Chamber of Deputies, or the Council of the Corporations, is just as truly representative of the people casting their votes within the Unions, as it would be by virtue of the ballots of an ordinary general election.

Selection is vocational. The doctors send their best men, the machinists send their best men; and so on down the line. The democracy of any country is represented by the voters at large and if those voters cast their ballots, voting freely within the unions for the men of their vocations whom they consider best fitted to represent them in the legislative body, how can it be fairly charged that the form of election is not a democratic one? The last election was held in 1929 when a list of candidates nominated from the unions was placed before the Grand Fascist Council who selected 400 as the national list of candidates. This list as a whole was submitted to the electors at large on a 'Yes or No' plebiscite. The list as well as the record of the Government was approved by the enormous majority of 89% of the electors of Italy. The plan will be different as you will see in a moment, at the next election. It will be observed, therefore, that emphatic endorsation was given by the people to the plan of vocational or occupational selection. Under the new proposed law the Council of Corporations will take the place of the Chamber of Deputies, but the principle is the same, viz; representation from the Unions. Under the new law there will be no double election as in 1929. This amendment makes for both economy and simplicity. If the voters in their capacity as members of Unions, elect their legislators, there seems no reason why the same electors should be called upon to vote a second time as was done in 1929. Critics of this new plan describe it as a departure from democratic government. This is obviously absurd. It is merely a simplification of procedure and a saving of the expense of a duplication of elections. The new legislature will be just as representative of the Unions as was the old Chamber of Deputies. As before, the different categories will elect their best men to it at the next election which will be held in March next. As before, employers, workmen, and the professions will be all represented. As before, the best brains of the country will be found in the ranks of the lawmakers.

Fascism will admit of no party government. It says that if a national union government is a good thing in war-time, or when there is a national emergency, it is of advantage at all times. It points to the useless delays and obstructions of the party system, to the part played by enormous contributions to campaign funds from big business. Under the party system, untrained men are sometimes pitchforked into Cabinet positions. A lawyer may be a Minister of Marine or a doctor may be Minister of Labour—a plan no man would follow in choosing managers for a business. Independent ideas are not welcomed by the party caucus, party platforms built to get in on and not to stand on have long been a joke, even among those who favour the party system. (Applause.)

I might tell you, gentlemen, that I knew once of a candidate for the Board of Control in the City of Toronto, who shall be nameless, who was elected on the platform of disapproving of the street car service. I observe by the Toronto papers that the platform is still going strong.

The system of occupational representation I have outlined is the method Italy adopted in order to get away from Partyism, and, gentlemen, the beauty of the plan is that it works. In describing the Constitution of Italy, I have started at the foundation, for the recognized unions are the basis of the structure. These unions are just as much a part of the State as is the Premier or the King himself. Next above the unions is the legislative body formed as described; next the Senate, appointed for life as ours is, these two forming the parliament. Above this is the Fascist Grand Council, consisting of the Cabinet Ministers and eminent men of the country, somewhat resembling the Privy Council of Great Britain, and above all is the King. The premier is appointed by the King and may be dismissed by him. (One editor said that he thought it was the other way around). There may be legislation by Order-in-Council or Royal Decree, as it is called in Italy. Laws thus passed by that means are effective only for a limited time unless they are subsequently ratified by parliament.

The criticism of the Fascist form of Government, which one hears most frequently, is that it is an uncontrolled dictatorship built around Mussolini; that Mussolini is the keystone of the arch and that when he passes away the structure will crumble. Nothing, gentlemen, could be further from the truth. There is no Russian dictatorship in Italy. When parliament passes a law, Mussolini has no power to alter it. It is true that in Mussolini the Italians believe they have an outstanding statesman. They both respect and love him and almost invariably follow his advice. They delight to refer to him as "Our Leader" and, gentlemen, they accept his leadership. When Mussolini formed the opinion that it was proper and wise to change the law regarding elections to the legislature, he didn't issue a direction as to what should be the plan. What did he do? He had to go to both Houses of Parliament, gentlemen, and get their consent, and the Houses of Parliament sitting there have free and open discussion; opposition to Mussolini developed, but they made their decisions and the change was made. This savours of anything but dictatorship. The admirable system of Fascist education provides for training in statesmanship. Young men are continually being educated in the science of statecraft and are being brought along so that when the older statesmen pass along, they will be ready to take their place.

Commendatore Villari, whose cultured deliverances charmed us all so recently, tells of an incident regarding Mussolini. He says that on one occasion Mussolini was asked the question "What will happen to Italy, sir, when you pass away?" Mussolini replied with a twinkle in his eye "There will probably be a funeral. Possibly some choice flowers will be sent. Indeed, there may be some very fine speeches in which it will be said that the deceased was not such a bad fellow after all, and the next day the government of Italy will go on as usual."

On the death of the Premier the procedure taken is for the Grand Fascist Council to submit a list to the King and from that panel the King makes his selection and the Premier is appointed.

It is in regard to industrial relations that Italy makes a notable contribution to modern political thought. The Charter of Labour, a marvellous document, aptly described as Iabour's Magna Charta, clearly sets out Labour's rights and obligations. I quote a few clauses which outline its general effect:

"Work, in all its various forms, whether intellectual, technical or manual, is a social duty. On this ground alone it is protected by the State.

"From the national standpoint, the whole volume of production constitutes a unit; its objectives are one and undivided and may be summed up as the welfare of the individual and the development of the national strength." You will observe those words: "the whole volume of production constitutes a unit". It is not labour; it is not capital. There is no division, but it is a unit, a combination of the two and that unit is the foundation of Italy's recognition of labour laws. (Applause.)

"The corporate state considers private enterprise in the sphere of production as the most effective and useful instrument in the interests of the nation.

"The associations of employers are required to promote in all possible ways, an increase and improvement in production and a reduction in cost.

"State intervention in economic production arises only where private initiative is absent or is insufficient or else where the political interests of the State are involved.

"The State alone is in a position to ascertain and control the phenomenon of employment and unemployment."

Collective bargaining as to the rates of pay and hours of work is provided for. Should disputes arise, the employers' union and the corresponding employees' union sit down together and talk the matter over. If they cannot agree the dispute is dealt with by the unions higher up. If there is still a disagreement, the Minister of Corporations lends his advice and if conciliation finally fails, there is a reference to the Labour Court in which a Supreme Court Judge sits with experts representing the employer and the worker, and the decision is made.

The record of strikes in Italy is of interest. In 1922 when the Fascists took control, there were 573 strikes; in 1923, 201; in 1924, 260; and in 1925, when the conciliation provisions got functioning well, strikes were a thing of the past. You will note, gentlemen, that at this time, strikes had not been abolished by law or made illegal. In 1925 they were voluntarily abandoned by the workers. The conciliation provisions were so well drawn and had such a fair foundation that in 1926, the following year, the law was passed by which both strikes and lock-outs were made illegal, and the decision of the Labour Court was made final and binding.

The charge has been made against Fascism that it deprives the workers of their sole weapon of defence, viz: the right to strike. The absurdity of this statement is apparent for two reasons: First, that before strikes were made illegal, viz: in 1925, the workers abandoned them; and second, the vote of 1929 when, by an almost unanimous vote the workers approved of the government's action in declaring them illegal. (Applause.) As a matter of fact, even the Labour Court is now seldom called on to settle disputes, as they are nearly all disposed of under the primary conciliation provision.

I think the journalists present will be particularly interested in some of the provisions of the Publishers' and Journalists' Collective Contract. In case of sickness, the journalist receives full salary for the first three months, half salary for the next three months, a scheduled raise of salary every five years, indemnity for dismissal, indemnity on superannuation, double salary in December, a month's vacation each year with pay, and annual contribution by the employer of 24% of salary. Don't you fellows of the press tell the boss, or I might get in wrong. As the gentleman of the soap box would say "Is it not terrible how the iron heel of Fascism presses on the neck of Italian Journalism!"

The collective bargaining provisions of the N.R.A. have been modelled largely on the Italian system, although Mr. Roosevelt has not, as yet, acknowledged the fact. The Fascists, however, built from the ground up, first getting the unions properly organized and built upon a sure foundation. President Roosevelt, on the other hand, first built the super-structure and then sought to place the foundations under it, hence his difficulty with unions, non-unionists, company unions, strikes and lock-outs. The collective clauses of the two plans are similar except that the Fascists have steadly objected to an artificial raising of prices, preferring to keep costs low and not impair the purchasing value of the Lire. Italy, years ago, adopted the 40-hour week as a means of relieving unemployment.

Mussolini's comment on Roosevelt's New Deal, made in a speech to the Italian Senate recently, is interesting. He says: "In the United States the intervention of the State in the confused economic affairs is direct. Sometimes it takes peremptory form. President Roosevelt's codes are nothing but collective contracts which the President obliges one and all to accept." This charge of dictatorship cannot, of course, be denied. Congress by statute made President Roosevelt a dictator. An amazing feature of the N.R.A. is that under the Act the President has power to delegate his authority and create a thousand dictators each with the same power as the President himself. Under this provision, men with no legal training whatever, may be empowered to exercise the functions of a judge. Such legislation creates conditions similar to those so vigorously criticized by Sir William Mulock in his able address last Friday. In Italy, industrial differences of every nature, as we have seen, are settled by a Judge of the Supreme Court, sitting with competent industrial experts.

New Zealand abolished strikes in 1894 by her Industrial Arbitration Act which has functioned fairly well but is not completely effective because of the Party system which she retains. She nearly lost the benefit of this legislation in 1900 when a strong movement for its repeal, led by Communists was almost successful.

Unemployment figures compiled a little over a year ago by Mr. R. H. Knickerbocker of New York, are of interest. He says that he has checked with government Statistic Bureaus and outside sources and he claims his figures are correct, viz: for every 68 persons unemployed in Italy, Germany has 275 unemployed; United States has 207; England has 186; Austria has 140; Czecho Slovakia has 120; Japan has 110; Spain has 70; France with 68, being the only nation as low as Italy. These figures have all dropped somewhat, but are approximately the same relatively.

In the field of economics, Italy has taken a high place. In 1927 she stabilized her currency and has never departed from the gold standard. She has instituted a system of rigid bank investigation not only as a matter of security for depositors, but also in order to see that unfair conditions do not exist in the matter of withholding credit.

Einzig, a British author, in his "Economic Foundations of Fascism", says: "Experience of banking in the Fascist regime in Italy shows that it is possible to break the rigid orthodoxy of banks, and to influence their activity, without having to resort to the extreme solution of nationalizing them."

Italy's reforestration is most extensive and wonderfully well organized. Hundreds of square miles of swamp areas have been reclaimed and turned into farm lands for ex-service men, and many thriving towns and villages now exist over what were formerly disease-breeding districts. The cultivation of these reclaimed areas has enabled the country to be self-supporting in the matter of wheat, which she no longer imports.

Italy weeds out her stagnant industries. No anti-combine law exists in Italy; the amalgamation of small industries is indeed encouraged by the Government. On some 70% of the factories in any trade, petitioning the Government asking for a merger, the minority must co-operate and join the amalgamation.

Itay aims to co-ordinate supply and demand in such a way as to produce cheaply and yet keep a constant curb on over-production. By law no new industrial plants can be organized without specific permission from the Government. In October last 19 proposed industries applied for licenses. Of these, 8 were accepted, 6 were flatly refused, and 5 others held subject to further study.

In their applications, the prospective firms must state the capital and financial set-up, the mechanical equipment and prospective capacity, the type of raw material required, the number of employees, and a detailed analysis of the home and foreign markets for the proposed product. The Government's industrial experts then study the applications, check up on them and make their recommendations.

Under a new law just passed, the Government becomes a channel for investments by the public in industry and industrial bond issues, after investigation and sanction by the Reconstruction Institute will be guaranteed by the Government itself as to the principal and a modest fixed interest—not the full interest on the bond, but a modest fixed interest. In this way the money lying dormant in the bank was put to work to turn the wheels of industry.

While the Fascist policy is that of non-interference with properly conducted private enterprise, it does not shut its eyes to the dangers to the nation which are likely to arise when due proportions are attained. In a recent speech, Mussolini said: "When a private enterprise passes certain limits, it is no longer a private enterprise, but a public one. The business of an independent craftsman may be a private one, but when an industry, a credit organization, a trading concern, or a bank controls millions and gives work to tens of thousands of people, how is it possible to think that its fortunes or misfortunes are the personal affair of the directors of this firm or the shareholders of that industry? No, it now interests the whole of the nation and the State cannot be a stranger to it." (Applause.)

Had this policy been adopted by Sweden, the terrible Kruger crash would not have been possible and proper supervision by France would have saved thousands of people from the calamitous results of the recent Bayonne disaster.

Mussolini, in a recent speech before the Italian Senate, on the 13th of this month said: "Monetary manoeuvres are powerless to bring about a true and lasting rise in prices. If we wish to delude the human race we might resort to what was once called 'clipped currency,' but the opinion of all those who do not believe in economic and social empiricism is quite clear—inflation is the road which leads to catastrophe. Who can truly believe that an increase in monetary tokens can truly increase the wealth of a nation? Somebody has already drawn this parallel. It is the same as saying that if one were to reproduce a million times the same photograph of the same person, one would thereby have increased the population by a million."

In outlining the Fascist economic creed, Signor Mussolini stated that it admitted and respected both private initiative and private ownership of property. "Private ownership of property, however, must be looked upon not only as a right but also as a duty." he said. "The ownership of property must be regarded in other words as a social function. It must, therefore, not be passive property, but active, not limiting itself to enjoying the fruits of its riches, but developing, increasing and multiplying them."

One of the objections to the Fascist plan is that of press censorship, and I understand that that was dealt with in a very able way by Don Mario Colonna when he addressed this Club. It has been somewhat misunderstood. There is no blue pencilling in Italy of any article before publication. Any editor may print what he pleases, but if he prints what is subversive to the interests of the State, on prosecution he may be fined or imprisoned. Constructive criticism is always welcome.

One is inclined to somewhat doubt the strictness of European censorship when one reads 'the big bad wolf' despatches cabled daily to our papers from certain European centres in which the pictures painted are much more fanciful than any Walt Disney ever drew. They are so full of what has been politely described as "terminological in exactitude."

You will be perhaps amused to know that the Swastika row at the Beach in Toronto last year was featured in the European press and what do you think the headlines were? "Civil War in Canada". The Toronto pressmen must certainly have been doing their stuff.

The question is frequently asked "How does Fascism differ from Socialism?" Italy. like every other country, adopts many features of Socialism. That excellent piece of legislation, The Workmen's Compensation Act, is only one of the many socialistic laws in our statute. Fascism denounces the plan of state management of private enterprises. It says, however, that when private management falls down, or when any concern becomes so huge that its welfare becomes national, it will step in and supervise in the interests of the nation as a whole.

Socialism would wipe out the last vestige of capitalism. Fascism says, "no." Capital is of value to a country but it must behave and be content with moderate profit. Socialism preaches confiscation, with or without compensation as it sees fit. Fascism opposes confiscation.

Italy spends enormous sums on her social services. How she does it in these hard times, the Lord only knows. But she does it; they have to pay high taxes, but they pay without a grumble. Those living on the sea she takes to the mountains and those living on the mountains she takes to the sea. The land abounds with sun-bathing establishments for the poor. Every year she brings 50,000 Italian boys from overseas, who are residing in different lands, to visit Mother Italy. Last year, the quota was 62,000. From the day they step on the boat until the day that they return, the Italian government bears all the expenses. One of the Toronto boys who went over last summer relates that while there he was furnished with three boy scout uniforms of different patterns for different occasions. He went in June, I think and came back in October. He reported that the government was most hospitable and kind and that they had a marvellous time. A list of Italy's various social service organizations would cover several sheets of paper.

I read recently in a United States paper, something about Fascist propaganda. Gentlemen, such a thing doesn't exist. If there is one thing the Italian prides himself in it is good manners. This he evinces both personally and internationally. Under his own hand, Mussolini has written all Italian Consuls that they must take no part in any movement having for its object the introduction of Fascism into the country in which they reside. He emphasizes the fact that the demands of international courtesy and good manners require their absolute abstention from politics or propaganda. He reminds them that they are the guests of the country in which they reside and that they must respect the hospitality which is accorded them.

Try, Gentlemen, to get from Italy any pamphlet issued by the Government extolling Fascism. It can't be done, simply because none are printed, either in Italian or any other language. Anything you get, you must obtain from standard books on the subject, many of them written by Englishmen. Italy, unlike Soviet Russia, does not seek to force her ideas upon any other nation. As Mussolini says, "Fascism is not for export". Fascism is sweeping Europe because its nations are near enough to Italy to see the advantages of her system, while Communism is being more and more discredited.

Many newspapers make the error of confusing the Fascist and the Nazi plans. While Germany has modelled her system largely on Italy's plan, she has added several features which are quite alien to Fascism. While the German structure is not yet complete, the following features appear which have no place in Fascism, namely race distinction, prohibition of women holding public office, and regimentation of religion. If the press despatches are accurate, it would also appear that the German plan for the settlement of labour disputes is not as fair to the workers as Italy's. Austria, while strongly Fascist, is strongly anti-Nazi. Growing Fascist movements exists in no less than twelve other European countries, including England, which has six different Fascist organizations, Lord Rothermere being the latest notable convert. Nearly all these movements differ slightly from the Fascist plan, but follow its fundamentals.

John Strachey, the Socialist, has written a book, entitled, "The Menace of Fascism", very much of a slam. He makes the significant admission, however, regarding the Italian plan when he says, "It is the worst possible error to suppose that the predominant reason for the growth of Fascism is peculiar to any one country. The inevitability of its growth in some form is inherent in the economic and political situation of the world today. The rise of a Fascist movement is a historical certainty in Britain and America. To suppose anything else is to fall a victim of the most pitiful illusion".

Italy has reached the goal for which all other nations have striven but which none have completely attained, namely, the successful co-ordination of capital and labour. This she has accomplished, not by the mailed fist, but by a well-devised conciliation plan laid upon a foundation of unselfish co-operation and the mutual respect of each for the rights of the other.

Fascism has made a wonderful adaptation of the most vital elements of capitalism and socialism and combined them in a structure of state which, by its actual accomplishments, has proved its value.

Little did Macauley think when he penned those lines so wonderfully descriptive of Imperial Rome in the days of her greatest glory that they would be prophetic of the condition of Italy of today, and what words can better describe the spirit of Fascism:

Then none was for a party,
Then all were for the State;
Then the rich man helped the poor,
And the poor man loved the great.
Then lands were fairly portioned;
Then spoils were fairly sold;
The Romans were like brothers
In the brave days of old.

If there were a line in the fundamental principles of Fascism, opposed in the slightest degree of the best ideals of the British Empire, I would not even be discussing the matter. Should Canada at any time in the future, in its wisdom, adopt Fascism, in whole or in part, it is indeed gratifying to know, Gentlemen, that the system fits so admirably into our Imperial setting, and that the old flag would still be ours and that the song of Empire, "God Save the King" would still be that of Canada. (Hearty Applause).

OUR TIMES VIEWED FROM A WORLD PERSPECTIVE

AN ADDRESS BY MR. ROBERT CROMIE

February 1, 1934

MR. CROMIE was introduced by the President, MAJOR W. JAMES BAXTER, M.C.

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MR. ROBERT CROMIE: Mr. President, Members of the Empire Club: The subject which the President has given me today, or asked me to speak to was a definition of our times, viewed from a world perspective.

Well, if you want to define our times, and our country, I suppose you have to look at other times and other countries. So in skipping around this world perspective, I will try and emphasize some things I saw in Europe and Russia this summer and see if we can catch from that some suggestion for ourselves, because, after all, if history is anything, it is just a record of the adjustments of the human mind to the new conditions under which it finds itself.

What will history say of you and me with regard to the adjustments we are now making to the conditions under which we find ourselves on this continent? If you want to see Canada properly, you have got to see the world. So, instead of talking about Canadian affairs in our time, and about Russia and Europe, let us take three minutes of world geography.

You have here on this world map, which has become part and parcel of me, two billion people. Where do they live? What do they do? We are only ten million of them here in Canada; 120 million in United States or in North America 130 millions. In little Japan, not much bigger on this map than two fingers, there are 65 million people. You do not wonder why Japan is belligerent when you go and see how they have to inhabit the hillsides, with hillside land at twenty degrees.

Then we come to China with 450 million people; the Philippines with 10 million; and down to Java—just look at Java! It is not as big as your finger. There are 35 to 40 million people there.

You and I don't know what population is until you go and see these Asiatic countries. You have in Asia one-half of the earth's population or one billion people. And they are right next door to Canada, because we, on the Pacific Coast only take eight days to slip across to Asia's shores. That is something our Canadian manufacturers ought to be more conscious of. People make markets, you know. And one-half the earth's people are in Asia.

Then we come to Europe. 350 million people! Get those people in perspective, where they live and belong economically and socially as compared with you and me, and only then you begin to get your minds and thoughts around this earth, its people, and their problems.

Of course, every old crow thinks its own babe is white as snow; and we, in Canada, with 10 million people, whether in Toronto or Vancouver, consider ourselves the whole thing!

But when you get into some of those countries you get an eye-opener and you begin to realize you are only one of this earth's two billion people. You may sit on the palace steps at Siam, as I did, when a little soldier about 4 feet high came up and told me to move on. I looked at him, but I picked myself up and moved on. He is King there, don't you see?

Now, there are 350 million people in Europe. Look at little Belgium. It is as big as the tip of your finger, with as big a population as Canada and probably as much accumulated wealth.

Come now to Russia--165 million; South America, 100 million—giving us altogether 2 billion people.

Before hopping into Europe for our observations, let us spend two or three minutes at the Economic Conference at London. World leaders met there for six weeks this summer. They didn't settle the world affairs, those 66 various nations, but they did get under the same umbrella for the first time in the history of the world. That was something. They started looking at each other and when humans start looking at each other, whether we are white, yellow, brown or black, it is just the same—at this very minute, those 2 billion people are just like you and me. They have the same hates, the same fears, the same loves and the same greed. They eat, sleep, work and play as we do, only on different standards. So, if you want to get a perspective of people and things and conditions and times, find out the standard on which people live and only then you begin to know something about our past and present world. That Economic Conference in London did not settle world affairs because of different standards of living of the different world's countries.

All right. Let us take another three minutes then and see what creates different standards of living. First, you have technology—machinery—call it Technocracy if you prefer. Technocracy means Machine Rule, but the world will never be ruled by machine. If a man came into this room with a revolver, he would cow this audience, but it would not be the revolver, it would be the mind behind it. The mind of man will always rule the world and run the machinery of the world. But let us stick to our theme that it is machinery which creates world standards of living, so let us slip around and see how much machinery is used by the various nations.

In Canada and the United States, we use about $23. worth of new machinery per year per individual. When we sit down and think of all the terrific power at our command, we are unconscious of how little power and how little machinery the rest of the world has. There is used $23. worth of machinery per individual per year on this continent. Next comes England with $11. worth of machinery for each individual; Germany with $9.; France with $4.; in Russia, about $1. When you come to China and India, there is used about .50 cents worth of machinery per individual per year. These are rough figures but they picturize accurately enough the world's technology.

You and I sit down and talk and those who are not conscious of technology start comparing Russia with Canada; they start comparing China with Canada. Go to China and see them coaling a vessel, a human chain of two hundred people, moving up a plank and dumping buckets of coal in the hull. Go to Siam and see them cutting the teak logs. See them put the log at an angle, and one fellow hops up on top of the log and another man gets underneath in the little pit and all day long work to cut two or three boards off that log which you and I do in a minute with machinery by running that log on a carriage past a band saw. Go to the Nile and see them lifting water up by an old buffalo or camel, or probably one fellow with a long bucket or a pail lifting it to another fellow. You say, why don't they get a pump? They haven't got machinery in Africa and Asia as you and I have.

So, it is only when you start looking at the earth and people and machinery that you begin to get your mind around different standards of the earth's people; and begin to understand the reason for those varying standards in the quantum of machinery.

Well, all right. Let us slip around town a bit before leaving London. You know when you go to the big banquets there and the theatres and the parties in the afternoon and the dinners at night, you think England is coming back in a wonderful way, but when you get to Lancashire and see three out of four smoke stacks cold, when you go to Newcastle and see begging women and children, you begin to realize that things are not coming back the way they should in England.

I slipped up through the Norweigian Fjords; I wanted to see those on my way to Russia. If you ever get a chance go and see Norway. Sit out at half past eleven at night and see the wonderful Northern lights. I went down to Denmark. I wanted to see how the Danes were capturing the British bacon market, and I began to realize how we, if we want to get world markets, will have to study specialization, whether of pigs, hens, wheat, or what not. Only then we begin to get a hold of things.

Then I went over to Sweden. In Sweden there is a lesson for Canada and United States. There is little Sweden alongside of great big Russia, in revolution, and Germany in revolution. Sweden escaped all that. She made her social adjustments years ago; you and I laughed at them then. But Sweden stepped out of revolution into the necessary adjustments.

Well, we come now to Leningrad.

When you come into a new country and a new world, you are all sort of aquiver. What is it like? What do the people look like and feel like? As we came into that big air field at Leningrad, I was all eyes and ears. Coming down to ground you start driving the four miles from the air station to the hotel and you see the dirty streets, and you see big shops which are now used for habitation with a little curtain or something over the window. You have a feeling "Isn't this terrible?" But when you call on a fellow at his work, with his old clothes on, a farmer somewhere, or a woman in her house, you are conscious first of that same feeling, but when you start talking, you get a mold of her mind.

Well, it is just the same in Russia. When you get over that first "worker" feeling and get a hold of the mind of Russia, you are only conscious of that mind's hope and animation, and you realize Russia is on a sort of economic honeymoon.

You are sitting around at night. Instead of the nice food we eat here in Canada or United States, you have a cup of plain tea and some little biscuits with caraway seeds in them. The talk is animated. Russians everywhere seem to know where they are going. They have a reasonable technique for getting there. You catch the spirit of Russia and you see that they have something which we must get over here in a national way. They have an objective—They have national plans, they know what those plans are, and each one knows their part in those plans. They are making sacrifices, sure they are, but who on this earth isn't? I have seen people doing things in Russia that we wouldn't dream of, that we couldn't get our people to do until we gave some particular reason for it.

Now, in Russia, I had a hundred and ten separate interviews even though I was only there ten days. I will try and give two or three things that to me were revealing.

After all, you don't have to live with a woman all your life to know her. The more you live with her, the more you feel that she knows you and you don't know her. It's the same with countries and people and policies. So the judgment or ideas of persons who have to make a life study of things or people in order to understand them, rarely interest me. They are usually too close to their country or object to see it in perspective—see it in relation to other countries or policies. And it is only when countries or persons or conditions are compared with others that you get their true worth.

You go to Russia at a cost of $15. a day, including train fare, a compartment to yourself on the train, a nice room in a hotel, nice linen, everything clean; international food. The food that you and I get in the hotel in Russia is just as good as in Shanghai, Constantinople or Jerusalem. When I got up in the morning, I was asked, "What do you like for breakfast?" I said, "What have you got?" "O, we have got some grapefruit" "Where do they come from?" I asked. "From California."

"Would you like a cereal?" "You haven't got some puffed wheat, have you?" "Yes, here was puffed wheat, from Saskatoon!"

So the food you and I eat in Russia is international; For the $15. per day you also get a good guide and a motor car from nine in the morning until one at noon. After that you pay for it yourself. For $10. there is a different standard of travel, a different standard of hotel; and for $5. an entirely different standard. Instead of going by motor car, you go in street cars in large groups.

What do you see in Russia? A little fable is told by the boy who lived just outside of the palace and always had seen grand people going in and coming out, and he used to sit thinking that he would like to go in. Of course he couldn't go in. One day he saw a sow walking in; nobody stopped it so in it went. It poked around and after a while came out. The boy started talking with the sow. "What do the tapestries look like?" he asked. "I didn't see any tapestries," said the sow. "What does the King look like?" "I didn't see the King," replied the sow. "What did you see?" "There was a lot of garbage, and it wasn't good garbage at that," said the pig. "I didn't care much for it and I came out."

You go and see in this world what you want to see or have the eyes to see. Wherever two people are on this earth, they can both see the same, they have the same hates and loves and fears and likes and dislikes, but if you haven't got the eyes to see and mind to analyze and background of perspective to compose the different standards of technology and how technology affects living standards don't blame it on the country.

Now, using this yardstick in Russia, let us poke about and see what we find. "What would you like to see?" tthey asked. They gave me a list of programmes. "Well, can I go myself?" "O, yes."

Leningrad is an interesting city, so I walk around. I go to see the fine big cathedrals, looking over my shoulders to see that nobody is following me. They didn't seem to pay much more attention than if I were in some other international city like Cairo or Calcutta or Constantinople. I went on the street car and they asked, "How far?" I said, "All the way around," and I sat for an hour and a half. Then, I began to get lonesome and I said, "I think I will go out this afternoon." I decided to go to one of the factories. I came to an electrical factory. We went through five stories and came to the top story—engineers and office staff were there to get the light. Well, I was not particularly interested in the technique of electrical manufacturing. I had been in the big plants in Schenectady and Tokio. Let us talk to the people. We started walking through the floors. Here are big machines with girls putting filaments in the lights. To one of them. "What is your name? How long have you worked here?" "Three years." "How much do you get?" "A hundred and thirty rubles."

Instead of confusing with dollars, I will show you what Russians receive and pay in rubles. The cheapest wage I found was that of a little old woman taking tickets at the Tolstoi House, she got eighty rubles per month. The Commissars get eight hundred rubles. Ordinary labour gets a hundred and twenty-five to two hundred and twenty-five rubles. Skilled workers get from a hundred and seventy-five to two hundred and fifty rubles. School teachers get a hundred and thirty to a hundred and seventy-five rubles.

What does it buy? Their black bread and basic foods like that are rationed as England was rationed during the war. You get national food reasonably cheaply. Apartments are anywhere from twenty rubles to fifty rubles per month, according to how big, and how large the family is. When it comes to buying the stuff you and I eat, that is another thing.

I used to read of eggs being worth a ruble apiece, butter two rubles a pound, and ham at similar prices, and I said, "How can Russians possibly live? How can enough food at those prices be bought to hold body together?" But when I got to Russia, I found that the basic food was black bread and cabbage soup, and an occasional bit of meat. The basic food of China is rice and the basic food of India is rice. You and I who eat the wonderful foods and goods technology has brought us are unconscious of how the rest of the world lives and works. We are unconscious of the fact that in India for instance the average annual income is ten dollars a year a family. Fancy you and I or our wives taking ten dollars to run our family a year!!

When you come to Russia, don't look for the things we have. That is an adjustment I had to make.

I went to the market there. Here was a small bunch of rhubarb. A ruble. Here would be butter. Two rubles a pound. Here would be raspberries. And I will never forget it—here was a little couple looking through the market; they looked at the rhubarb and felt it. They came to the raspberries—just a small glassful. They went off and talked a couple of minutes before they decided to buy that small glass of raspberries—it was one ruble—that you and I have by the pailsful. Those are conceptions and comparisons you have to get of other countries before you can begin to get your mind around our times and our country. When we start thinking of these things and get it right, then we know what we are talking about.

In the factory, they get a hundred and thirty rubles a month. Any holidays? Three weeks a year up to five weeks, according to your production.

The woman in charge thinks I will be interested in something going on at the other end of the room. She takes me down. Here is a woman on a platform with about a hundred workers around her. What is she saying? "The production has fallen down and you see the disfavour we are in. We are going to lose our marks. You see this camel—a wooden camel the symbol of slowness; it won't be removed from this floor until production comes up. Think of the disgrace we are in."

When I went to Russia, I thought everybody was slave ridden.

When I went to Italy I thought that Mussolini was running Italy with a whip. When you get there, you find intelligent leadership—psychological leadership. Mussolini is giving realism, rather than partyism, don't you see?

And you get to Russia and you find just the same thing. Here was this woman belabouring her fellow workers and finally she broke down in a hysteria of crying. That was the worst slave driving I saw in Russia.

You go through the different floors of that factory and come to where they are making big electrical generators and you see guards around with their rifles because Russia's bogey is that somebody is trying to copy them all the time and steal their secrets. Technology being so new to them, they think it is a god-like thing. It is nothing to us.

Everywhere they wanted me to go in Russia, I wanted to go somewhere else. What is that building? Oh that is a post office. Let us go in. "There is nothing to see there," they told me.

I go in and see the postmaster. He gets four hundred rubles a month. A hundred people work here. They get from a hundred and twenty-five rubles to the postmaster's wage of four hundred rubles a month. I asked if I might talk to some of the workers. They were taking in letters at one wicket and weighing parcels at another. What does that sign say over there. Oh, that is a savings bank. You haven't banks in Russia, have you? Do you take money in? Do you pay interest on it?

"Yes, we pay seven per cent," they told me. "If it is in for a year, we pay eight." "But, isn't that Capitalism?" "Oh, yes, but you only put in there the money you earn!" Oh, I see.

Russia is working to an idealogy of Communism, but it is actually putting into practice, modified capitalism. In Canada and United States we are working on an idealogy of Capitalism, and some of the things we are doing in the state show how near we are approaching Socialism. As Trotsky says, "We had better be careful about the people we recognize in United States and Canada." With his tongue in his cheek, Trotsky says this.

Probably in 25 or 30 or 40 years the two of us will meet, because after all, the synthesis of what all people do is finally the right thing to do.

Some of our abuses of Capitalism we will have ironed out by that time and some of Russia's misconceptions of Communism, they will have ironed out, and we will meet in a workable world that we all look forward to.

Let us look around in Russia some more, then. What about the Rest Homes you go to? Well, let's go and see one. We go out and here is a place with 225 people in it. They are resting about; it is a nice warm day. They are mostly women. I don't want to go through the dormitories. I have seen those things. Let us talk to some of the girls. All right. "What do you do?" Here is a nice young lady, about 20 years old, a school teacher. "I teach school about forty miles outside Leningrad." "How much wages do you get?" "A hundred and thirty rubles a month." "How many holidays do you have? "I get five weeks this year." I talked with her five or ten minutes and then she said, "Where do you come from?" "I come from Canada. I am a newspaper man. I live in Vancouver. I have a daughter nearly your age, nineteen years old." "What does she do?" the girl asked. "Oh, she is 'preparing'," I say. "Preparing for what?" was the question.

In the meantime, half a dozen girls had gathered around and I started humming and hawing; I couldn't explain that because of social position or money or unemployment or something many of the girls in Canada weren't working—great numbers of them. I coudn't explain that, don't you see. In Russia, if you don't work, you don't eat, if you are capable of doing some line of work.

Well, let us leave Leningrad and go to Moscow and poke around. Before leaving Leningrad, I had dinner with the British Consul. He said, "Cromie, I am glad you have come. Why didn't you come here when you first came. You want to get this thing right. Things are not too bad in Leningrad but in Moscow they are very bad; in the Ukraine they are starving to death."

It always seems to me in world travel and in trying to form perspectives that no matter where you are, the farther away things are, the more romantic they are.

I started talking to a fellow on the train, a Professor of Historical Research. I talked to him and asked him what to him were foolish questions. Finally, he yawned in my face and said, "I have to go to bed. I have a big day tomorrow in Moscow. I take an interest in blooded horses and two of my horses are running tomorrow." I asked, "You haven't horse races in Moscow?" I didn't want to ask any more questions. I thought he was fooling me.

When I got into Moscow next morning, the first thing I said was, "Have you horse races here?" They said, "Yes, this is the Derby Day." I said, "Get me two tickets for the grandstand." The horse race commenced at one-thirty. I got out at two o'clock. There were 55,000 people at those horse races in Moscow! Twenty thousand were in the grandstand; thirty-five thousand were down on the paddock. Betting odds were given every few minutes—three ruble and six ruble bets. The Commissars were in the boxes with cigarettes held at the right angle, and with coffee being served. During the intervals at the races, you see the crowd turn and look at those who are up in the grandstand, just as at the Ascot races the crowd had stared over at the Royal Enclosure. I couldn't believe my eyes because this revealed to me the same class consciousness that we have in our country. This shows the fallacy of trying to make or class all people as equals.

That morning I took a walk around the hotel. "Who are these fellows walking around, these athletes?" "O, they are football players." "Football, here in Moscow?

Get me two tickets for the game." "O, we can't get any tickets now. We tried to get a hundred and got ten." I met the captain of the all-Turkish football team. The Stadium seated fifty thousand people. Written applications for five hundred thousand seats had been received. The game started at six o'clock, and here were the two football teams, the All-Russia and All-Turkey teams, parading around the field with band and mascots. I went to Russia to see slavery and gloom. I didn't go to see them leading a normal life like that.

I sat down in my seat and after half an hour I found that the fellow beside me was English speaking. "How are things in England?" I asked. "I don't come from England; I come from Canada." He says, "I live in Vancouver." And here is Arnold Webster, High School teacher in Vancouver, sitting beside me in Moscow, in a crowd of fifty thousand folks like you and me. "How shall I explain this crowd to the people of Canada, the United States and England?" I asked. I don't know. Here they were in Moscow of course living on a different standard than we in Canada and United States, but with the same feelings, the same enjoyments as you and I have.

We were sitting in the hotel at one or two in the morning, Walter Duranty of the New York Times, Kincaid Reuters and a group of newspapermen and myself and we were talking away.

"Walter, did you put that horse race story on the wire today?" I asked. "O, hell, no, there is nothing to that." I said, "It was a pretty revealing story, Walter. I didn't know there were horse races in Russia.

I said to Kincaid, "Did you put the football story on your cables?" He said, "O, no, that is not hot enough news." I said, "That is a great revealing story. It was a great international game between an All-Russian and an All-Turkish team. The conception I had of Russia was not football or horse racing or normal enjoyments.

So the romantic and the dramatic in life is always somewhere else than where we happen to be. That is a point I want you to bear in mind when thinking of other countries and other peoples.

Emphasizing that point. I was in Shanghai one day and a woman in our party was going through the Chinese quarters. She was riding in a rickshaw when a slick Chinese pulled her purse and ran away with it. I got the Vancouver papers a month later. This story was headed, "Belgenland Passengers Robbed by Chinese Bandits." Our office was so concerned that they were going to cable me.

The same day in Shanghai, I was reading an English paper. The Headlines were: "Rum Runners Mowed Down by Machine Guns, Windsor, Ontario." "Communism is Spreading in Canada." From Vancouver, "So and So Communists Deported."

I turned to Mrs. Cromie and I said, "I shouldn't have come on this trip. Things are getting bad in Canada." The romantic and the dramatic is always somewhere else than where we happen to be.

Illustrating this same point with respect to Russia, I would read over there, when wheat would go up a cent a bushel in North America, "Bread Prices Increase in America."

Rhys Williams, a friend of mine is a writer who had been in Russia through the revolution. He came back to Vancouver and I used to go walking with him a good deal. "How could you possibly leave an interesting place like Russia and come over here?" I asked him. "I came over to America to see the depression," he answered. He had read where a thousand unemployed had slept out in the 'jungle' in Vancouver. They have a place built out there, with a tin roof over them, in the subway. That was a big story in Russia. The romantic and the dramatic is always somewhere else than where you happen to be.

He said, "I was in Russia in 1917. I heard some shooting outside my hotel. I walked outside to a fellow sitting in a duska or cab and I said, "What is that shooting?" The fellow was reading a cheap paper novel. He said, "Oh, some galoots at the other end of the town are cutting up or something." He asked my friend, "Are you an American? Do you know Buffalo Bill?" This fellow was reading a Buffalo Bill novel, the most hair-raising dramatic thing on earth to him, notwithstanding the fact that the Russian dynasty, a thousand years old, was changing over his head. The romantic and the dramatic of life is always somewhere else than where you and I happen to be. Learn that and you learn a great fundamental yardstick of life and countries and people.

We, in this room think we lead an interesting life. Yet 98% or 99% of our life is eat, sleep, work or play. One per cent is for love making and romance, for after all, man wasn't made only to work. The point is that other people on earth are just like you and me, and whatever condition of life is enforced on them because of environment, because of soil productivity, because of technology and lack of adjustment to new conditions: their life whatever it is becomes to them normal. That is why we in journalism have to mentally migrate occasionaly, because we start and figure out that only the two per cent of life in Russia or China that is dramatic and grandiose is interesting to our readers and they will assume that this reveals the lives of people: it does not.

This is an observation worth remembering. You must get your mind around the earth and its problems and man and his problems and his lack of adjustment to new conditions. When you have a country's history, its geography, and its psychology you have everything there is to know, and you have something the ordinary man has not got. How so? To show that he hasn't got it, come back to this continent. The world is interesting to talk about; it is interesting to play with when you have a map like this. Come back to this continent. Look at our standard of technology, our soil productivity, unequalled on earth. What do we find? We will find, I think, that history will say we have failed for the minute, to adjust ourselves to these new conditions.

We read in the papers just yesterday that our political leaders at Ottawa both MacKenzie King and Premier Bennett instead of addressing themselves to the realistic things of Canada, are spending four hours and five hours in making speeches about titles and they are doing that while four or five hundred thousand of our Canadian boys and girls, from 19 to 23, 24 and 25 years old, haven't got a thing to do! When you sit in your office as you and I do and a young fellow of nineteen or twenty comes in and asks for a job, you can't give him a job. You can't say, "Sonny, go next door: they will probably give you a job." You know you are lying. And you can't say that he will get a job tomorrow or the next day. If we had a shortage of foods and goods; if production was a problem with us, that would be something, but it isn't. We have a plentitude of foods and goods but lack the social attitude and financial technique to distribute them. Also we lack the psychology to adjust ourselves to the new era of plentitude we now find ourselves in. After all it is man's ability to adjust himself to new conditions which determines history, which determines man's progress and his growth. How will future generations regard our lack of ability to adjust our new machine world.

We come back to this continent with $23. worth of machinery per individual in North America. The next nearest is England with $11; Germany, $9; France, $4; China and India $50, reflecting the technology and soil productivity.

We come back here and go to the Century of Progress Fair in Chicago and we see in five minutes, a presentation of the evolution of transportation in the last one hundred years, the ox cart, the coach, the locomotive, the motor car, the flying machine. I get into a flying machine in Chicago at five o'clock in the afternoon and the next morning at eight o'clock I am in the areoplane field in

Seattle—three miles a minute. Yet you and I will spend four hours talking about titles. (Applause.)

Go and see the same evolution in relation to soil production. See Cyrus McCormick's old sickle, the reaper, the binder, the mower, and the thresher and see what man can do with machinery in one hour field work that used to take him three days. Cannot you see from that an inkling of some adjustments that have to be made?

There is an evaluation going on around the world today. We can no longer hide behind "big front shirts" with cobweb minds and garbage-can stomachs. We have to clean them both out, and keep them clean.

After three years of explaining to our boys and girls how there is no work for them, etc., etc. The girls say, "Well, what is my future? Where am I going to get married?" Can she marry a young unworking boy; should she marry one? Should she have to? Should you and I as business leaders sit down and not address ourselves to the adjustments we have to make? Should we sit down and have this great pile of nine million dollars worth of debt on which we are trying to pay the same interest rate that applied when Calgary Oil stocks were worth twenty times what they are now, and every other stock accordingly.

Or shall we trim interest notes down to an amount we can carry? Capitalism has a job to distribute the goods and foods we produce in this estate we call Canada and United States both constituting the richest continent on earth. It will be no trouble to adjust and distribute the goods if we start using the vehicles of distribution which are necessary and which we have So we have to change our conceptions of finance and its uses.

Our social conception and ethical conceptions have to change because, after all, if you want to know and do things today, you don't hark back to old ritualism, and formalism and political theorism; you go to the new leadership of realism. And when you go and see what

Mussolini is doing, you find that he has got a grip on the mind and the thought of the youth of Italy.

He is giving intelligent leadership. He couldn't help it because he would be edged out if he didn't.

When you go to Germany and see Hitler—and I had a close-up in Europe recently—you make some reappraisals. When you go to Russia and see what they have done even if on lower standards than ours, you see that if they hadn't organized, they would be heading toward the fate of disintegrated starving China. Organization beats disorganization never forget that. When you come to Canada and United States, you see that we don't have to go through the revolution that Russia went through, that Germany is now going through, if we address ourselves to the problem of our country, which is realism; to the most valuable asset we have which is our own living people, rather than dead debts or money theories.

If you want some conception of the posssible standards of living on this continent, just think that in Canada and United States we are now only using about 60 per cent of our PRESENT plant. We are only using about 1/10 of our *potential producing energy and power.* With an economic setup like this, you can see how rich we are just the minute we set our minds and plans to the task, of not only using our present plant to capacity but tap in and use at least a portion of our potential energy.

The earth's peoples are on the march. Radio and movie have now made it possible for the masses to look right into the Castle. This means that there will be no more government skulduddery behind castle doors. Radio means that youth no longer has to spend 20 years learning to read and write, and then spend another 10 years learning the significance of the thought and action behind that writing. The radio and movie through the ear and eye couple up the mind of masses with the mind of government.

So, governments have to be realistic; they have to deal with realities rather than with romance. Hope based upon understandable plans rather than hoakum is what our youth and grown ups demand. Our political and financial and business leaders must wake up to this fact, and when they, like the leaders in Germany and Russia and Italy, address their thought and action to the heritage that we have on this continent, we will have a continent unequalled on earth, and living standards that no other country can approach. (Applause.)

THE FUTURE OF THE THEATRE

AN ADDRESS BY RAYMOND MASSEY

GUESTS—MRS. RAYMOND MASSEY (Adrianne Allen), GLADYS COOPER, RAYMOND MASSEY.

February 8, 1934.

MAJOR BAXTER, who presided, introduced the distinguished guests as follows:

I wish to extend a welcome to all the charming guests that we have on the floor, in addition to those at the head table.

On Monday last, in this room, many of us had the privilege of hearing the Prime Minister, Rt. Hon. R. B. Bennett, speak and relate the success which has attended the Ottawa Empire trade pacts and the manner in which the agreements effected have quickened and increased the inter-Empire flow of goods, especially between Britain and Canada.

Now, while those of us in business are highly elated by this exchange of material merchandise, there is another type of product which, if we have any regard for our intellectual development, we should seek to attract to our shores. That is the product of English culture. Today we have tangible evidence of the value of a cultural exchange between Britain and Canada. Our guest of honour, Mr. Raymond Massey, may rightly be termed a national product—"Made in Canada." Long before any Ottawa Empire Conference we exported him, a product tested and proved exceptionally worthy in the crucible of war, to England, and there tradition and training moulded, shaped and perfected his talent. Today, with his dramatic brilliance and producing ability, he embodies on the stage and in his own personality some of the finest characteristics of the two countries. Therefore, although here temporarily and although he is, paradoxically, both an export and import, all of us who know him as a member of an old Toronto family or who have seen his distinguished work on the stage, regard his visit to Canada as a "shining hour" indeed.

Coupled with our welcome to Mr. Massey is the sincere greeting of the Empire Club to his charming wife, that distinguished actress, Miss Adrianne Allen. Her presence here is an honour we all appreciate. I will ask Miss Allen to say a few words.

MISS ALLEN:—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I must tell you that I had no idea I would be asked to speak today, otherwise I would have tried to arrange for something to say to you. But may I just say how very delighted I am to be a guest here today and to be here with my husband and Miss Cooper, and to thank you very much for the wonderful welcome you have given us here in Toronto, and I hope it will not be long before we are here again.

Thank you.

MAJOR BAXTER:—Thank you, Miss Allen. Your presence here today is an honour we all greatly appreciate.

(Continuing) No mention of the stage, or of its influence in Empire affairs, would be complete without the name of another guest at our head table. To society, this guest is known as Lady Pearson. But to all of us, and particularly to thousands of Canadian soldiers she is known admiringly and affectionately as Gladys Cooper. In the minds of our returned men there are many gay and sorrowful memories, but one of the most imperishable memories of those days is cherished by Canadians who saw Miss Cooper in London, and warmed to the radiant personality and charm of her that reached out from the stage and lightened those all to brief days of "leave".

That is why, in concluding this tribute to Miss Cooper I read you this letter to the press dated January 29th:—

"As one of the many Canadian overseas veterans who had the privilege of seeing and hearing Gladys Cooper, I take this opportunity of expressing my highest appreciation of this noted actress, upon both her appearance and acting, and would like to hear that a full house greeted her at her every appearance at the Royal Alexandra."

(Signed) "One Who Saw her in the
Misleading Lady."

I would also like to read a letter sent me by Rev. Canon F. E. Ward-Whate, President of Toronto and District Command of the Canadian Legion, British Empire Service League:

"The Members of the Toronto and District Command, Canadian Legion, British Empire Service League, through their President, take this opportunity of expressing their profound appreciation and grateful thanks to Lady Pearson, on her first visit to Toronto, for helping during the dark days of the War to raise their morale by means of her superb acting. Thousands of ex-service men in Toronto and vicinity remember her with feelings of affection for her fine spirit of optimism, which combined with her sense of duty to Great Britain, heightened the spirit of Empire in their hearts. They wish to say "Bon Chance," good luck and every success."

I am again going to take advantage of our guest and ask Miss Cooper to say a word of greeting—

MISS GLADYS COOPER:—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen who are here and all those others who may be listening in, among them perhaps some of those Canadian boys, no longer boys but who were boys in the days of the war in which was given to me the privilege of making them perhaps forget for a few hours the horror that they were then going through: I hope I don't say this boastfully, I don't mean to, but I do say it so very proudly, when we arranged to come here, of course I was personally very pleased to be coming to Canada, but I did not think—or perhaps I had forgotten, the war was really a long while ago—that I was looked upon so much as part of England, and I am so frightfully overwhelmed by the, may I say, affectionate way in which I have been greeted here. I shall look forward so very much to coming back, but if I never do, I shall take away with me such a very, very deep feeling of this wonderful welcome which I have received.

It is rather difficult to speak of something which one feels so much, but I do hope you all realize how very, very grateful and how very proud I am. Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you so much. (Applause.)

MAJOR BAXTER:—Thank you, Miss Cooper.

And now, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have the honour to introduce our guest speaker, MR. RAYMOND MASSEY.

MR. RAYMOND MASSEY:—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I want to thank you from the bottom of my heart for the great honour you have done me in asking me to speak to you today at this luncheon of the Empire Club of Canada. I could not voice my appreciation of my welcome home under more congenial conditions than to a gathering of people interested in the preservation and strengthening of the Imperial Bond. Nobody could have had a more thrilling home-coming, and I have enjoyed it so much I am going to repeat it in the future with monotonous regularity if you will let me.

And may I also say that as a Torontonian, I wish to join with you in your welcome to Gladys Cooper who, to me as a member of the C.E.F., embodied everything of England. I am so glad and proud to be appearing with her in Toronto.

I chose the theatre as the subject of my few words to you not only because it is my profession but because I know that to Canadians and Torontonians particularly the theatre is a very cherished institution. But although a treasured possession, the theatre has a delicate constitution. It is a good deal less delicate than its detractors would have. But its ailments have always been magnified into crises. Nowadays as in the past, the *Ailing* theatre is the subject of pity and approbrium. "What is wrong with the Theatre?" "The dying Theatre." "Will the talkies kill the Theatre?" "Will the motor car kill the Theatre?" "Will television kill the Theatre?" We have heard these phrases and questions at nauseam, some of them date from Shakespeare's time. But the theatre with the latent strength of the chronic invalid, has always got out of bed, slapped on her grease paint and thumbed her nose at her detractors. She has ignored doctors and nurses and has trusted to her own powers of resistance and her vitality to survive. The remedies which have been suggested for the alleged moribund theatre have been diverse and fatuous. They range from the futile idea of the subsidized theatre under various guises to the preposterous compulsory attendance of the Nazi regime. The recent temporary eclipse of the glorious Berlin theatre is a complete reply in tragic mould to the suggestion of state interference in the theatre. But the English theatre has always rejected these treatments. The theatre, whether professional or amateur, is a business of entertainment which must prosper or fail on the strength of the financial support which the public may give. By entertainment I mean not merely amusement but emotional stimulus either by tragedy or comedy, laughter or tears, they complete the circle. But it must be remembered that the theatre is a commercial undertaking. I do not mean that the theatre should pander to the public taste. In the first place, nobody knows what that is, least of all the public. All we can do is to put on plays that we like and think are good and trust to luck.

In a moment I would like to make an attempt to answer the question as to whether the talking pictures or television will kill or even affect the theatre. In the first place, the theatre is the soul, the G.H.Q., the autocrat of the entertainment business. The moving picture even with dialogue and the ultimate inclusion of the third dimension is merely a reflection of primary theatrical effect which is in its pure form in the theatre. I will go so far as to say that no acting on the screen, however much the product of genius, can compare with a great flesh and blood performance on the stage. I also claim that no actor or actress can pretend to act on the screen without considerable previous stage experience. The "rapport," the indefinable mutual accord which actor and audience both feel in a good performance must be experienced and developed before any real effect can be obtained before a microphone and the bored members of a movie production unit. The same applies to the problem of motion picture direction. The great directors of the new era in pictures must have experience in the flesh and blood theatre. I quote Lubitsch and Mamonlian among many. But these are internal considerations, and I am dealing with the relative appeal of the theatre and the screen to the public. The latter must of necessity be circumscribed in its development because of its blanket appeal to the general public. When you have to please Kansas City and Kensington and try to do both at once the ultimate product cannot help but be mediocre. It is not an economic proposition to produce pictures of the first quality which cannot make a profit over a wide area, but a play can be a financial success and yet be seen by less than 150,000 people. The living stage facilities for experiment are therefore much more elastic and a caviare public can be provided for by the theatre.

Then again the element of mechanical certainty which the screen must possess I think is inimical to complete entertainment realization. One knows that a gun is bound to fire, a wall to fall, a motor to turn over. Everything will go as the director intended, to plan. But in the theatre we are flesh and blood. The sword may break, the actor dry up, the cue be missed, it is all human. I remember a silly story of a man sitting in a picture theatre for hours, several times through the program.

In one of the films there was an incident in which a group of maidens were disrobing preparatory to bathing in a stream. But when the progress of the scene had reached the Will Hay's limit of decorum a timely freight train in the foreground blotted out the group. Finally after this patient fellow had witnessed the seventh showing of the picture an attendant asked him why he was so interested. He replied, "I think some time that train may be late!" (Amusement.) You see it illustrates my point. In the theatre the train could be late. The plasticity, the human element which the stage possesses can never be attained by mechanical entertainment. The public can never quite get the thrill out of a star who enters the stage door in a tin can as it can from a flesh and blood cast of actors. The moving picture industry realizes this when they build up business by the lure of personal appearances. In the value of spoken drama the legitimate stage is supreme. The two great contributions of the screen to date are Mickey Mouse and Charlie Chaplin, one synthetic, the other select.

The best films have always been those which have appealed as the screen should principally to the eye, in which dialogue is subordinated to rhythm and movement. I have never seen a picture based on a play which has been able to hold a candle to the stage original. The theatre is the realm of individual endeavour, of the human element, the aristocrat of the entertainment world, where one man can conceive an idea and without a miracle being necessary to carry it through to actuality. It is the negation of the factory. How many motion picture magnates would give their eye teeth to produce one good play. I am not decrying the films. They supply a necessary form of entertainment in my opinion, of surprisingly high quality considering the problems of this industry, but as for supplanting the theatre or even affecting it as a form of dramatic expression, it is quite inconceivable. The screen may be credited with one useful accomplishment. It has purged the theatre of the second rate tour and has made the way clear for the establishment of permanent stock and repertory companies about which I have a few words to say later on.

About the technical and artistic course which the theatre will take I can say but little. The multiple stage, the revolving stage, double, single and treble, elevating hydraulic stages, swivel platforms, are but names to the layman and it is right that they should remain so. Our craft should be a mystery, a glamorous secret which amateur and professional should jealously guard. The result of these technical achievements of machine and power have enabled the author to throw aside the old restriction of playwriting. Now he can show six scenes at once if he so desires. His play can be in thirty scenes. Only the dictates of theatrical effect in all its mystery need govern him.

There is one snag or problem which we of the theatre are faced with. That is the supply of good plays. The demand is unlimited, the supply is sometimes perilously small. But both in England and America several writers of the first magnitude have come forward since the war. Unfortunately with the few exceptions which prove the rule, the really good playwright is only developed in the theatre. I mean he is in a theatrical atmosphere, he must have had experience of the theatre-in-being. The novelist writes with much greater freedom. The playwright has to abide by rigid rules which necessitates practical knowledge of the theatre.

And this leads to the question of the little theatre and the amateur stage. It has been the custom of many professional actors to ignore and decry the little theatre and amateur efforts. With this view I vehemently disagree From both economic and artistic points of view it is wrong. No little theatre ever kept a penny from the legitimate theatre box office; on the contrary, a thriving little theatre creates a ready-made audience for the touring metropolitan company. The development of actors and writers by the little theatre movement and the ultimate resentment by the professional stage is too well known to need discussion. I think that the community theatre movement is the most prolific developing ground for playwrights that can exist. An organization such as the Provincetown Players produced Eugene O'Neill who wrote plays between shifting scenery and acting. An effort at a synthetic development of dramatic authorship has been successfully carried out by Professor Baker at Harvard and later at Yale which produced several eminent American authors, including Philip Barry.

Academic encouragement and development of the drama I look on as extremely important, and I regret that the enlightened dramatic policies adopted by Harvard and Yale are in marked contrast to the apathy of Oxford and Cambridge towards the drama It is not so much the development of the actor to which such academic enterprise should be directed but to the discovery and nursery of new authors. When there are good plays there are always good actors to play them. But in the final analysis it will be in the repertory and stock theatres, in the little theatres that the new playwrights will be discovered.

I would like to say a word on the very vital problem of the freedom of the theatre and the question of censorship. Of course the ideal condition is a theatre unfettered by any control but such a state of affairs is I am afraid impossible. It leads to watch committees and Grundyism, and some enlightened control is preferable. The English system of censorship vesting the supervision of dramatic material in the hands of a court functionary, the Lord Chamberlain, has I think proved successful. It depends of course entirely on the character of the official himself, but happily in the present Lord Chamberlain, Lord Cromer, the theatre has a staunch and honest friend. Restraining of "Green Pastures" I think can not be laid at his door but has been caused by a technicality in the old Victorian "Theatre Act." The system is infinitely preferable to a committee or political body as decisions by the Lord Chamberlain are his own individual verdicts and the complications of a divergent body of opinion are avoided. I trust that as far as the London stage is concerned the present system will hold.

Now I come to a part of my little talk which is most interesting to me and probably the brightest side of what I have to say, and that is the state of the theatre in Canada at the present time.

There are many people who say that the people of Canada as a whole have lost the theatre habit. I think that I can say that this is not true. In fact I am going to nail that lie. It is true that during the years of economic depression British and French as well as other theatrical companies have hesitated before embarking on tours overseas on account of the great initial expenditure involved during hard times. It is also true that the public in this country, as elsewhere, have turned for entertainment to the films. But it is only because of the theatrical starvation. I believe, however, that the change from the silent films to the talkies is in itself creating a demand once more for the living theatre. It stands to reason that if we see players reproduced on the films, accompanied by the reproduction not only of their movements but of their voices by mechanical means, those who see these films must have the feeling that they would prefer to see the human form itself and hear the human voice.

That, however, is not the point which I desire to make, which is, briefly, this. Since the War little theatres have sprung up in all parts of the Dominion. Canada is an example of the little theatre movement reviving the latent theatrical interest of the community. Of recent years their growth has been extraordinarly rapid. Not only in the big cities but in quite small towns, in the west as well as in the east, little theatres have sprung up and received enthusiastic support from their local communities. Local provincial festivals have become a feature of winter life in the Dominion. To such an extent has the interest in community drama developed that in October, 1932, a meeting was held under the aegis of the Governor General at Government House, Ottawa, attended by representatives of those interested in the theatre from all the outlying Provinces of the Dominion. With the desire to co-ordinate and encourage the community theatre movement it was decided to organize a Dominion Drama Festival. No sooner said than done. During the winter of 1932-33 eliminating competitions were held in all parts of the country. In order to keep the competition within manageable limits only established little theatre organizations were invited to take part. None the less no less than 110 groups competed in regional festivals to appear at the Dominion Drama Festival at Ottawa in April, 1933, to compete for the Governor General's trophy. At this Festival 24 selected teams competed and the public interest was so great that it was impossible to accommodate one-half the people who desired to be present during the adjudication. At this moment little theatre groups are holding eliminating competitions all over Canada to take part in the Dominion Festival at Ottawa next April. Reports received indicate the greatest possible public interest. Local competitions are being attended by packed houses. There is no doubt that the success of the Dominion Festival of 1933 will be exceeded in that of 1934 if the public interest aroused is any criterion.

At Ottawa in April Mr. J. T. Grein, the famous dramatic critic from London, England, will be the adjudicator. I am convinced that he will return to England as satisfied as I am that interest in the theatre in Canada, far from being dead, is a very live and growing thing. I hope that as a result theatrical companies will once more come out from Great Britain and also from France to join with Canadian people in honouring the dramatic art. I have in mind the bringing out from England of the nuclei of companies, say the stars themselves, and recruiting of the remainder here. This would cut the cost of production considerably. In all this movement the inspiration and support of His Excellency, the Governor-

General, as you know, has been paramount and the name of Lord Bessborough will always be coupled with the revival of interest in the theatre in Canáda. There is no stronger Imperial link than a continuous and effective interchange of theatrical endeavour between England and Canada. I hope to see the day before long when a Leading English actor cannot afford to neglect his Canadian public but looks forward to his Canadian tour as a logical step in his career and not as a reason to apply to the Royal Geographical Society for an explorer's medal. Our tremendously successful week here, so much better than we had hoped for, has once again proved that Canadians love the theatre and particularly the English theatre. And one hopes that very soon a Canadian Company will be entertaining London in a Canadian play.

I have not, I am afraid, lived up to the title which I chose myself for these few words. I have made no Wellsian forecasts of the future stage. None of us know what television, electric, chromatic wonders will be unfolded to us in the coming generation. But I am inclined to believe that in a hundred years time the theatre would technically be recognisable to us. I am afraid I am optimistically vague, but I am deeply sincere, when I say that I think the future is bright for the stage. There will be ups and downs and the downs will be chiefly caused by a lack of good plays, but the good plays will come and there will be better actors to play them and with all deference to you, ladies and gentlemen, better audiences to see them. I think the English speaking theatre is destined to greater glories than ever, that it is passing from a glamorous past to an exciting future.

A ROYALIST FIASCO

AN ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR J. S. WILL, B.A., PH.D.

February 16, 1934

PROFESSOR WILL was introduced by Major W. James Baxter, M.C., President.

MAJOR BAXTER:—To-day is a day of special significance to one of our head table guests. I refer to the Honourable Sir William Hearst, who is seventy years old to-day. (Applause.) I will take a few minutes of your time in paying tribute to Sir William on your behalf. Sir William has been long and actively identified with public life in Canada. Not only had he given unstintedly of himself in public service and the welfare of this country but during the War his two sons both experienced overseas service. We remember him for his leadership of the Province during those days of trial, from 1914 to 1918 and many of us here remember the leadership he gave the Club during the year he was President in 1922.

So, I ask you all to join in extending to Sir William our best wishes. He is one of Ontario's finest sons and we wish him "Many Happy Returns of the Day."

(Three lusty cheers and a tiger were given at this juncture for Sir William.)

The two great nations which are bound to Canada by ties of kinship and sentiment are England and France, and just now the latter country has been occupying a lot of the front pages of our newspapers. And because she is experiencing, as other nations have experienced, a period of internal dissension, it is fitting that we have as our guest of honour a man who can tell us something of the causes underlying the present disturbances.

The presence of Professor Will here to-day is indeed gratifying on two counts: One, because the sentiment for world peace is usually furthered by understanding of and sympathy with other nations and Professor Will is well equipped to interpret the French nation to us. He is a close student of French history, he has written much on the subject and he has spent some twenty years in France.

The second is that Professor Will has made the study of France and the French people his life work. He is a three generation Canadian and is proud of it. He is the second Canadian who has been before the Club this year who has the mind and the outlook of the pure cosmopolitan, which produces not narrow nationalism but broad and sympathetic citizens of the world.

I have much pleasure in introducing to you Professor Will.

PROFESSOR J. S. WILL: Major Baxter and Members of the Empire Club: It is a real pleasure and a real honour to be here to-day. But if I were to be quite frank I should say that my sense of the honour done me outweighs considerably my sense of pleasure in the occasion, and to gain your indulgence for such a statement I need do no more than recall to you the terms of your President's opening remarks. I hope however, to find some pleasure in talking to you about a country in which my interest has continued unabated for more than a quarter of a century. But the responsibility laid upon the formal or the informal interpreter of a great nation at any moment in its history—how much more in times of crisis—is not to be assumed lightly and the thought that the imperfect information of yesterday may be belied by the events of tomorrow robs me of much of the satisfaction I felt in accepting your kind invitation. I am reassured, however, by the reflection that I am not expected to look into the future and vaticinate. You ask me only to throw what light I can upon the events of the past week in Paris.

Even that is not an easy matter. The actions of those we think we know best are often incomprehensible to us as ours to them, while their thoughts are almost completely hidden from us. Therefore, to the end that we may the better understand each other, we erect laborious codes and conventions and laws as frames for our conduct. Then we fill in the intervening spaces with sentiment. We say: 'We do not understand him but he's a good fellow.'Our conventions carry such prestige that any one who disregards them even in the slightest degree is viewed with mistrust, perhaps with suspicion and a very special effort is needed to understand him. The artist is often in this case and that, too, is why it is so difficult to understand other nations, particularly older nations, especially if they differ from us in blood and language. Their ways are not our ways. But we are anxious, more and more anxious to understand, and we are willing to make the effort. That greater desire to understand other nations is one of the most significant signs of an enlarging Canadian mind I think. It is, perhaps, one of the few good results of the War and one of the many good results of what is generally called the Depression but what I call the return to normal.

We, as Britishers, have been friends and enemies of the French off and on for more than a thousand years. We have fought against them in many wars. We have fought side by side with them in almost as many. We have had constant political and economic affiliations with them and are linked with them more profoundly, if not by sentiment, then by ties of thought and civilization than with any other people. As Canadians we are bound to them as to a seond Motherland, and I fancy most of you agree with your President when he says that, at bottom, the safety of the world and especially the future of civilization depend as much at least upon good relations between the French and English races as upon any other element in the modern world. It is wise that we should understand our enemies, it is gracious to try to understand our friends.

The events of the past ten days in Paris have certainly been very disturbing. But I am constrained to say that we should have been less troubled if our newspapers had given us the help we have a right to expect from them. If we ask anything from our newspapers it is facts. We do not ask in such matters as these for the emotions. Why should our minds be clouded and our fears excited by lurid exaggerations when our judgment might be clarified and our alarm appeased by the enlargement of our information through a simple statement of the facts? When a newspaper tells me that "the streets of Paris are drenched in blood' and that 'the famous prisons of the Bastille are rapidly filling with prisoners', even if I do not know that they are writing arrant nonsense in the latter case I do suspect great exaggeration in the former and am put on my guard against the whole report. As an average well-informed man, however, I know that "the famous prisons of the Bastille" were destroyed stone by stone in 1790 so that nothing remained except a line of bricks in the pavement to mark their former emplacement and here and there a few cairns to preserve some of the very stones of the fortress. As for the phrase 'drenched in blood' it is the same phrase that is used when, in some cities not so far away, gangsters move along the street spraying the crowd with bullets and leaving, if not quite so many wounded, then, probably, as many dead or almost as many dead as have been killed in the immediate Parisian outbreak. In any case I am inclined to think that better service might be rendered the public than by making a hysterical appeal to the savage emotions. For certainly this is not reporting. Just as certainly it is not news. Such abuse of privilege is contrary to the best traditions of journalism and has led in certain countries very recently to the revival of rigid censorship voluntarily accepted by the Press itself in the interests of public morals.

Sifting and correcting as far as possible the news from all available sources the situation remains, nevertheless, tense and disquieting, but disquieting only in so far as it is a question of the new government really understanding what the people demand, and having the energy to carry out fearlessly a fully national policy in spite of the opposition of sections and parties. Paris, as usual, has become the voice of the people crying out for a house-cleaning. Apparently the outbreak has been limited to the city. There tens of thousands of people, the latest estimates are eighty or one hundred thousand, of organized and unorganized bodies, congregated in the great Square and Avenues about the Chamber of Deputies, the House being in session. There was violence and some bloodshed.

Many suggestions have been made to account for this unwonted disturbance. Some native French residing abroad, wishing to apologize for what has happened, put the blame for it on foreigners living in Paris. This is entirely improbable. France is indeed a great melting-pot, the greatest of them. Paris is the most popular of all homes for exiles. In addition to that, let me point out that, to replace her losses in workingmen after the War France imported three million workers from other countries. But who ever heard of an uprising of foreigners in France? Individual aliens may try to foment trouble but there is no record of trouble with foreigners en masse. Nor can unemployment be at the root of the trouble. There were protests all over the country last year when the number of unemployed reached the unheard of total of about two hundred and fifty thousand. The Frenchman is a worker and, let me point out, during the fourteen years following the War the total number of unemployed was not as large as for any one year in Toronto during that period. The French worker is impatient of idleness and does not take willingly to relief but there is no reason for believing that the majority of the French unemployed found themselves suddenly in the streets of the Capital marching on the Chamber of Deputies. Indeed there is no reason at all for thinking that this was a demonstration by the workless.

No. We must look elsewhere for the roots of this demonstration. Economic conditions have something to do with it undoubtedly. Taxes are an always menacing burden in a country in which the life of the small investor has been made so precarious as in France in the last twenty years. Increasing cuts for the wage-earner and the salaried man have reduced their livelihood to a really perilous minimum undreamt of by us. Literally, we, on this continent, have, by comparison no idea of economy. Innumerable families of four or five persons of the middle class in France contrive to live, educate their children and make a decent appearance on thirty-five dollars a month, or even less. But no revolution ever took place in this country of thrift on the mere basis of a difficulty in making ends meet. The events of the past week are due to other than these alleged causes. This was not a case of just mob violence. We shall find, I think, that it was the more or less organized expression of a state of mind increasingly characteristic of our times, namely exasperation over the way so-called liberal institutions are working. Legislatures tend to think that they exist for themselves. Party squabbles take precedence over the country's business. A widespread materialism has deadened a nice sense of integrity in the minds of many public men leading them to an intolerable confusion of public and private interest.

In the last two years there have been eight changes of Cabinet in the French House which, even with their system, may be considered excessive. Cabinet changing in France means simply that the House refuses to make itself the rubber stamp of a party and insists on its powers and rights of direction. What these too frequent changes meant was that government had become the victim of party interests and that the extreme Socialist wing was powerful enough to paralyze public business because its votes were indispensable to the great Radical-Socialist or Liberal party, which is the backbone of the Republican government, and would not be given except on the basis of a quid pro quo. In addition to this flouting of the interests of the State the House had become involved during the last seven or eight years in a seemingly endless series of financial scandals. Now French public life is not more corrupt than any other, but the chances of the State being involved in such matters are perhaps somewhat more numerous than ordinary because it touches private interests at a greater number of points, as, for example, in the matter of the supervision by the House of house rentals and of an age-old system of pawnshops. In any case the Stavisky scandal of which we have all been reading and which is probably an Administration and Police case not involving the House at all directly, this case came as an exasperating climax to the Hanau affair, the Oustric affair, the Airpost affair, and others. Each one of these has meant loss and even ruin to many small investors. Add to this the constantly increasing cost of living, the harassing question of war debts, and the failure to balance the budget and you have nearly all the required elements of an explosion.

We, too, have many of these elements present with us at times but we do not explode. What do we do? How do we declare our continued impatience with government. On the whole we talk and wait dumbly, exasperated but helpless. Or we may appoint a Commission which puts the figures down on a slate, wipes them off again and lets matters proceed as before. We promise ourselves a great revenge at the next elections. By the time the next election comes around we have forgotten everything and we vote piously and gloriously for the grand old party of our fathers. With us two wrongs may always make a right in political matters.

The French do it another way. The French explode. Whether their government were monarchical or democratic the French have always found a way of telling it that the nation calls the tune. The events of the last week are not a new phenomenon in their history. They are in the line of an age-old tradition. This is as true of the ninth century as of the seventeenth and of the nineteenth. In this way far back in the eighth century the Carolingian dynasty gave way to the Capetian and in the same way in 1789 the Capetian gave way to a Republic. The statue of Etienne Marcel at the City Hall in Paris recalls one of the many instances of the resistance of the city to corrupt administration and it was under one of the most autocratic and greatest of monarchs, Louis XIV, that the Parisian earned the distinctive epithet of 'frondeur' to describe his quickness to resent any encroachment on the part of authority upon his civil rights and liberties. Indeed the brilliance of that great monarch's reign began to lose its lustre only when he himself began to lose touch with that element in French character which identifies its own interest with the dignity and traditions of the State. This obtuseness of the Bourbons reawakened eventually in the Frenchman his ancient individualism and spirit of independence. In 1789, after several abortive attempts in the preceding one hundred and seventy-five years, his action was irresistible and excessive. That it has not been lost since was shown in 1830, in 1848, in 1871 and again the other day.

France has representative institutions but it never forgets that they are first and foremost representative. Parliament does not sit for its own private interest and glorification, nor are Cabinets autonomous and autocratic bodies intended to reduce the character of the House to that of a party machine or a rubber stamp. Ministers are named to do the will of the House and when they show themselves unable or unwilling to do so the House dismisses them. Similarly the House represents the people and when it seems to forget that fact too flagrantly the people do not always hesitate to recall it to a sense of its functions without waiting for the next elections.

The people did not always wait for kings to die. Why should they wait for the dissolution of that hydra-headed monster called an elected chamber?

There is a certain evident flexibility here which corresponds plainly to the temper of a free people. The Cabinet is the servant of the House. The House does not wait for a misguided set of ministers to die; it kills them as a Cabinet. The House is not sacrosanct, it is the servant of the people. The people reserve the right to serve notice at any time on a blind and recalcitrant House. The dangers of such a conception and organization lie in the character of the people. Its strength lies there also and this strength lies in features of the French race which I think are fundamental in the development of its life and of enormous importance in the understanding of its actions. These features are the intense cultivation of freedom in the individual life and the success with which the sense of the freedom of the individual is combined with devotion to the idea of the nation. Usually, I think, the intensification of national life tends to be accompanied by a greater mechanization of the individiual. The mass idea predominates and is intolerant of the individual. This is not true of the French. The great characteristic of their race, and it is this that makes life so liveable among them, is the way it has conciliated the individual and the social ideas, the success with which it has combined the essential liberty of the individual in everyday life with the closeness of organization necessary to a highly civilized society and to efficient national performance, so that the most closely knit social organization of modern times has not menaced, much less submerged the capacity of the individual for full living but has rather enhanced that capacity. The creation and maintenance of this balance between the individual and society is perhaps the supreme French achievement.

Will you allow me to illustrate this point for you by recalling simple and well-known features of French life.

Among the first things to strike the traveller in that country is the way the small or the average holds up its head against the large. Consider the size of its cities. In a country of more than forty million inhabitants there are only two cities of more than a million and only four or five of say about five hundred thousand. It is a country of small farmers, four million of whom possess less than twenty-five acres each, of small merchants, of small manufacturers and of small investors. The whole educational system is based not on the idea of mass but on the idea of individual diversity of talent and the elaboration of means for developing that diversity. The stamps on your letters from France are frequently obliterated by the words 'Sauvez les élites' and the State provides for the educational future of every child that shows special ability or aptitudes. An English manufacturer in France told me that his greatest difficulty was to find French workmen who would refrain from putting the individual touch into their product. Ideas must be formulated by an individual and anything that mechanizes life to such an extent that the possible operation of free intelligence is obstructed is definitely antipathetic to the French mind.

On the other hand the Frenchman subordinates the individual very definitely to certain wider concerns. You will rarely hear him talk with anything but amusement about the tallest building, the biggest ship, the largest store, the most populous city. He has other standards entirely, standards of human and average perfection. The individual is perfected in society, not outside of it. The individual monster is a grotesque and dangerous and therefore undesirable ambition. Two ideas are a veritable cult for him: the family and the nation. He looks upon these as the centre and the circumference of the social organism. His whole political, educational and economic system is based upon their maintenance and anything interfering with their sanctity is anathema. Enlargement along the line of the individual, the family, the nation, may seem like an overemphasis of the individual but, in any case, it is an authentically human line of development and leads to universal human sympathy more naturally than through a cult of vague abstractions.

The importance of these features in the life of the nation and the effort to maintain a balance among them is at the bottom of a great deal that happens in France and that would happen in some other countries where the basis of conduct is more definitely merely economic. The cultivation of the individual implies a respect for and the cultivation of feeling, and the French remain a race in which the sensibilities are as tender as those of a child. Social effort is an effort of the intelligence. The harmonious operation of the two means that here you have the most artistic of peoples and the most fertile in ideas. The shock between feeling and ideas forms the very basis of drama and here you have a race which dramatizes itself as simply and naively as the child. It is not merely dramatic by nature but, as well, by nurture and tradition. France was a monarchy for fourteen hundred years and I do not need to prove that a monarchical form of government is a dramatic form. A culture and a tradition of that duration are not easily effaced. The French still resort to ways which are colorful and dramatic in the expression of their sorrows as of their joys and angers.

The monarchical idea still persists but merely as an idea. There seems to be no prospect whatever of a return to monarchical institutions, less now than ever as we shall see. Nevertheless there is a Royalist party in the House. Its numbers are steadily decreasing but it remains an exceedingly lively party and acts as an excellent watch-dog. A definite royalist political organization has existed since 1899. It was reconstructed in 1908 and greatly strengthened by the foundation of a powerful newspaper. Since that time the royalists have remained the definite spearhead of hostility to Republican ideas and institutions. They make no bones about their programme. They proclaim it upon the housetops. Stated simply their doctrine would sound something like this: All the political evils of modern life are due to universal suffrage. The Republican regime is government by mediocrities and is bound to be incompetent and corrupt. Restore their monarchy and the vulgarity, the rottenness of public life will be swept away. Because of this rottenness the nation is in a state of constant agitation. Such is briefly the attitude of the royalists. Their plan of action is no secret either. It is to take advantage of the constantly recurring crisis in this cesspool of democracy, or to provoke a crisis in order to bring about a change of regime. Now this is a very radical policy and, in principle though not in purpose, is hardly distinguishable from one 'catastrophic revolution' of the communists. In fact as often in politics, the two extreme parties are found at time fighting side by side. This is exactly what occurred sporadically in January last when the Stavisky scandal, crowning other recent financial disasters, seemed to furnish one of the crises for which the Royalists yearn. These two parties made dramatic sorties into the streets in the hope of embarrassing the administration. This is what was going on when ten days ago the people, or at least certain sections of the community, decided to take a hand, and the demonstration assumed vast and grave proportions. The people of Paris had begun to move.

Now if you will recall the events of last week you will notice that they possess certain distinctive features. They appear to have moved in two moments and to have involved two special elements. Of these two moments the first, on Tuesday, seems, at first glance, to have been one homogeneous outbreak in the Place de la Concorde and the avenues leading into it. If you look closer you observe that it is not homogeneous. There is a double face to the situation. You are forced to reflect that if the tens of thousands of people in the crowd had been an unruly mob there would have been much more terrible happenings than anything suggested in the most factual reports. In fact the violence seem to have been very definitely confined to small bands, probably of Royalists, Communists and hoodlums, who burned buses and newspaper stands, hurled paving stones and other missiles, while in the background vast masses of citizens marched in processions of protest. It was probably the presence of these masses of serious but sober citizens that helped, by their self- restraint to keep the disorder from spreading, and turned the Royalist and hoodlum demonstration into a fiasco. In the presence and calm of this unarmed and sober mass we may see, I think, not merely a warning to the Chamber but also to fascistic and high-handed methods of every stripe. That is to say here was the average citizen making known to everybody concerned his interest in and opposition to the way the business of the country was being handled. One of the little outings organized by the Royalists and their Camelots du roi gave Mr. Average Citizen the opportunity of displaying openly his disapproval of the House and of all methods in the House or out which tended to discredit normal solutions in the democratic tradition.

I have tried to describe the first moment and the elements involved as I see them in imperfect reports. This moment turned out tragically. Police and citizens came into collision. Shots were exchanged. There were dead and wounded. What I find extraordinary here is that the police were forced to fire. This is not the habit of the French police. They did not fire during the much larger Boulangist demonstrations of 1888 and 1889, nor during the Dreyfus disturbances of a few years later. What happened in this instance one can only conjecture but any sane man must conclude that the police did not fire without great provocation.

Last Sunday night and Monday a general strike was called to last from one minute to twenty-four hours according to the nature of the service involved. This constitutes the second moment and is the protest of organized labour. Compared with the strike of 1911, involving widespread sabotage, this was a dignified but impressive warning and by its very dignity measures the distance that Labour has covered toward self-control during the last twenty years.

In general outline, Gentlemen, such is the form, the direction and the significance of the events of this week in Paris so disturbing to all of us. A definite, widespread protest has been made against the cynicism of the Chamber, on the one hand, and against non-constitutional methods on the other, a warning has been given to all and sundry that the nation is democratic, and that its interests are paramount over all parties and sectional arrangements. I feel sure that the mass demonstrations of Tuesday were under the direction of law-loving organizations but I do not know which. Certainly they were such as could manifestly claim to be representative.

What are the results? Outwardly they seem banal enough. Another cabinet has fallen. But it has fallen through the re-assertion of moral values. A terrible warning has been given and taken. To insure the validation of these values the French nation has gone in search of a man whose career is as complete a guarantee as it is possible to find. This is one of the advantages of the French system. It is not the party in power that selects the President of the Council, whom we would call the Premier, but the President of the Republic. They have turned to an older statesman. In 1871 they turned to the aged Thiers who consolidated the Republic. In 1917 to the veteran Clemenceau. In 1926 to Poincaré, a former premier and President. In 1934 they have turned to Doumergue another former President, like the others over seventy years of age, with forty years of political integrity behind him, a protestant and a farmer's son. Strong measures will be needed. Strong measures will be taken. And then this country of many sacrifices will make still more. Should Doumergue and his national cabinet fail? . . . But the peril is too great. They cannot fail.

Disturbances in France have usually had reverberations the world over. France has been a sort of political barometer. The movements of 1830 and of 1848 caused sympathetic movements throughout Europe, including Britain. On those occasions the appeal was to free institutions, however, while on this occasion the warning is directed against political turpitude. The clash with the Socialists in Austria, about which certain newspapers write again with grotesque exaggeration, is not related in any way to the French call for a housecleaning.

And now my time is spent. Let me conclude by saying that the sum of my argument is simply this: The outbreak in Paris wears to me the traditional aspect of a warning to the government that it exists by the people and for the people, not for individual politicians nor for parties, that the country's internal policy in all its relations must be seriously readjusted and that the machinery of the State, whether political, judicial or administrative must be purified, that the house must be cleaned. The capacity of the French people to say that sort of thing directly to governments was once embodied in a remarkable person and in a unique and incredible adventure. A young peasant girl from Lorraine, driven to action by the woes of her country, convinced its rulers of her divine mission, rallied it from its moral paralysis, infused her own high energy into its armies, drove back the enemy and restored the monarch to his throne. That was Joan of Arc who has become the symbol of her country, the voice of her people finding its way straight past parties to the very centre of government. If democracies are able to recreate moral values in this way hope is not dead.

The final dramatic movement in this tragedy will be the burial of the dead amid a nation's tears with that extraordinary pomp which the French devote to such matters, and, again, you will behold the demonstration of the French mind in operation, the emotions reacting upon the intelligence in an effect to satisfy the exigencies of both mind and heart.

IS QUEBEC A BRITISH PROVINCE?

AN ADDRESS BY ROBERT LOUIS CALDER, K.C., M.C.

March 1, 1934

MR. CALDER was introduced by MAJOR W. JAMES BAXTER, President.

MAJOR BAXTER: One of the gratifying trends to be observed in recent years has been the strengthening interest of Canadians in their own Dominion. A deep love of country has always seemed to me to be the essential soil from which all national virtues and accomplishments spring. If each Canadian and each new citizen attracted to our shores could acquire a particular intimacy with and affection for the Dominion's traditions and historical associations, Canada would be truly rich in her patriots.

Canadians, of course, proved their patriotism in the War. But that was a heady, champagne-like patriotism, unsuited to the sober, deep-rooted patriotism our changing and ever-progressing Dominion needs today. And so one cannot but be gratified at the increasing interest many of our citizens are now showing in the Canadian affairs. The weekly lectures of the Ontario Historical Association by leading officials, citizens and educationists, are doing good work in this regard right here in Toronto. I would like, in fact, to draw your attention to these lectures being given on Saturday afternoons at Trinity College at half past three in the afternoon. The Canadian Radio Commission is also doing a fair job in inculcating a broader Canadian spirit throughout the land.

In view of these trends, it is appropriate that we should have as our guest of honour today a brilliant public personality who can teach us something about our sister

Province of Quebec. Mr. Calder is a Canadian who has served Canada with distinction in France. He comes to us today as a man whose gifts have been recognized in the legal, political and literary arena, who has won his laurels in many celebrated legal battles, and whose brilliance and uncompromising integrity have won him high place in the estimation of his compeers. I am privileged to introduce to you, Mr. R. L. Calder.

Mr. R. L. Calder: Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen: I am doing a somewhat dangerous thing, today. I am going outside of my province to speak evil of it. My motive is that having said these things which I am going to say to people within the Province without awakening them, I hope to come here and expose them sufficiently, as they would look at it, to make them angry enough to consider my proposition.

I did that on one occasion when I ventured to travel through Nova Scotia, reprimanding the Maritimer for his supineness and habit of whining. They told me that they would like to take the speech and make a pamphlet of it. "Have you a manuscript?" they asked. I said, "No, but on the first occasion I have to speak, I will speak on the subject and get a stenographer to record what I say." I spoke in Montreal a week after and for at least two years, it was unsafe for me to travel through Nova Scotia.

The question I am bringing before you is this: "Is Quebec a British Province?" What is it that makes a country British? It is not race; it is not religion; it is not language. The Empire contains a mass of various kinds of men, from people like ourselves who are descended from the British races to people in the far flung parts of the Empire who may have head hunting instead of hockey for a national sport. The Gaelic-speaking Highlanders, the Welsh-speaking Welshman, the French-speaking journeyman, the Hindu, speaking Hindustani, are all British citizens. The test of the British quality of any country and any area is the extent to which they have the true conception of individual liberty and to what extent they have the means to enforce and assert it.

Now, I am going to be shamlessly Victorian in this address. I judge from the lack of hair and lack of vigour of some of those listening to me, there must be other Victorians in this gathering. There are also some young men and it is to those I wish to repeat the words of Sir James Barrie when he became the Chancellor of the University of St. Andrews and was speaking to the graduating class. He said, "Of course, in the full flush of your degree, you will laugh at the Victorians as a quaintly impossible and singularly impracticable folk, but your real trouble will come when you endeavour to equal them." (Applause.)

There is one thing that the Victorian age, however wrong it may have been economically, however wrong it may have been in other things, did. By a continuous struggle from 1800 to the outbreak of the Boer War, it pressed upward to the full development of a greater liberty for the individual than the world had ever known. We don't know it in its completeness today. The Boer War, itself, started certain restrictions and since then we have crossed the range of the hill and we are going down the other side.

Of what was the liberty of the Victorian composed? What were its ingredients? I am reading now from the notes from which I am speaking seven nights a week, several afternoons, and occasional mornings, on this subject to a Province that I am trying to awaken to its condition. The freedom of the British subject was composed and compounded of the following ingredients: Freedom of speech; Freedom from tyranny on the part of the Civil Service by the operation of the prerogative writs; Freedom from inquisition; Freedom from torture as a method of criminal investigation; Freedom of access to the common courts in order that issues between subjects and between government and subjects might be tried;

Trial by Jury; The secrecy of the ballot and the right to controvert illegal and corrupt elections.

Now, I stand here to assert that all these things are gone in the Province of Quebec because you can't encroach on any of these rights without destroying them altogether; that all these things are gone and however much the French-Canadian who is the closest relative of the English since he is pure Norman and he formed one of the five peoples that came out of the Jutland Peninsula which consisted of the Angles, the Jutes, the Saxons, the Danes and the Normans, but although he is your closest cousin, although every fibre in his being and every bit of his education calls on him to be British, insidiously and without him being conscious of it, the Governmnent has gradually filed and whittled away all that made him a British citizen with the masteries and privileges of that citizenship.

Do I have to speak of the right of the freedom of speech, here, to an audience that is all British-born or British-descended? It is too often forgotten that the foundation of the British constitutional method is freedom of speech. Freedom, untramelled; freedom, unrestricted; freedom, extended to everybody, no matter what his opinions may be. Agitation is our method of testing public opinion and of getting a public mandate. I know that the word, "agitator," has sinister implications. There are so many people who think that an agitator is necessarily an unwashed, unshaven man, in tatters, with a pamphlet in one hand and a bomb in the other who offers no other alternative except to choose between them. Of course, Oliver Wendell Holmes said that you can take any choice of words and render innocuous if you define it by definition. What is agitation? It is the promotion of a plan of public betterment by public speech. And that being the meaning of the word, for goodness' sake, what person in the world could object to it? You people may not know the plan; you may not appreciate it; you may be hostile to it; you may not allow it to be presented. If you don't, you do two things detrimental to the state. You may pass up something that is valueless, if it is valueless, you may be creating a martyr out of a fool. And you haven't granted freedom of free speech until you grant it to the man who is in opposition to you in his contentions and desires. You must adopt the noble attitude of Voltaire when he wrote to Helvetius: "I hate what you think like the devil, but I would lay down my life for your right to say it."

I am even told that in this City, there are restrictions of free speech, but in the Province of Quebec we have gone beyond Section 98; we have gone beyond all legislation in the world in restricting free speech. The Government of Quebec says, "We don't restrict free speech. You can hold any meeting you like, so long as nobody comes to it." There has been a bill presented to the House by the Government and when a Bill is presented it is necessarily passed. There is no independence, no original thought in any of the Members—and that includes both parties. The Bill will inevitably be passed. What does it lay down? It lays down this: If you want to hold a public meeting and you want to advertise by circulars or posters or advertisements in the papers, you must first submit your poster or other matter of advertising to the Chief of Police of the jurisdiction where you want to speak, who by absolute discretion on his part says whether the circular will be published or not. If every Chief of Police were like the Chief of Police in the City of Montreal, who is an educated and cultured gentleman, it might be different, but where you have Chiefs of Police who are promoted to the head of the force, simply because they have the biggest belly in it, or Chiefs of Police forces that are so small in numbers that when he puts on his cap, the entire force is covered for the day, and the Act goes further and says that that power, where there is no Chief of Police, is invested in the Mayor elected for an abundance of political prejudice.

I ask if this is not a way of striking at the root of freedom of speech, accompanied by the cowardice of pretending not to do it. But there is one thing that will interest you and I hope that Mr. Taschereau now hears my voice; it is this: no circular of any kind at all, no matter what its character, may be published by anybody unless he lives in the Province of Quebec, so if you try to convince us to any noble ideas, you have no chance of getting an audience unless you pay our fare to some point outside the Province of Quebec.

The next ingredient of freedom, was freedom from officialism through the prerogative writs. You know it is rather a funny thing, there is an institution called the Civil Service and people are called Civil Servants because they belong to it and although the word, "Civil Servants" is underlined, they believe themselves to be the masters and they cease to be civil.

Now, under all countries that have British liberty, you have a method of cracking the whip—you, the master citizen—along the spine of the civil servant who will not do his duty and of asserting your mastery. This method is the opposite of the prerogative writs.

I am going to talk about the driest subject in the whole world and the most repelling, to the average mind. I am going to talk of law. There are six prerogative writs which are the pillars of our constitutional right to be British. These are: The writ of Habeas Corpus; the writ of Quo Warranto; the writ of Mandamus; the writ of Injunction; the writ of Certiorari and the writ of Prohibition. I know these are long words, put down in the English language when the Englishman was speaking a haze of French and Latin and English and didn't know what he would speak eventually.

It is easy to understand what the objects of the writs are and for what ends they were designed. The writ of Habeas Corpus implicated rights which had existed from the Magna Carta, that to no man must we deny the right to a full inquiry into the legality of any restraint made.

The writ of Quo Warranto was the broadest thing. It is a writ which provides the right to enquire into the authority of a person who wants to do something he has no right to do or wants to go beyond his right in doing it.

The writ of Mandamus is a writ which is directed to the Civil servants—they are rather numerous. He is dangerous because he does nothing which he is not obliged to do, and under this writ he gets an order.

The writ of Injunction is for civil servants doing inevitable damage by some action and which orders him to stop still; it is a writ to provide for the requiring of persons to refrain from doing certain acts.

The writ of Certiorari is the writ which is directed by the Chief Justice, by the high-minded, high position Judge, this Judge who should be, according to the mode of his election, certain of security in his position, to the little magistrate who decides every action between the government and the subject with an eye upon the government.

Then, there is the right of Prohibition which says to the junior magistrate or the inferior magistrate that he mustn't outstep his jurisdiction. I haven't time to go further than to the consideration of the writ, but the fact remains, you must surely stand with their definitions; with them you can repress and control the civil servant in everything he does that is illegal. If he has a right to do it, your writ is quashed and you pay the penalty in costs of the folly of going to law without a reason for it. If, on the other hand, you are right, the civil servant is reminded that you are the master and that he is the servant and that he mustn't reverse the position.

Now, what has happened to the prerogative writs in the Province of Quebec? I hold in my hand an enactment which I have always defended, like the Parson's Act, as good in part. This is a copy of the law destined to regulate thirst in the Province of Quebec. I am against regulating thirst. I am for the French method which permits anything to be sold anywhere, twenty-four hours a day and three hundred and sixty-five days in the year, because nobody gets drunk on the system that doesn't hold that stolen waters are sweet and bread eaten in secret is pleasant. If you are going to do it by government action you might as well do it in a wise way. This Act is a wise dispensation in that respect but it had the one serious defect that it created a government monopoly in business and here I am going to be thoroughly Victorian and say that a government has no business going into any business. (Applause.) I think I have lost the support of the C.C.F., now. (Laughter.) Now, it has created a monopoly and to enforce the monopoly it decreed some exceedingly savage penalties. For instance, (I haven't time to give all the examples)—I may say that this speech usually takes three hours and I have only twenty minutes to go) I will tell you this, however: In the Province of Quebec, you buy a bottle from the Liquor Commission and take it to the office and give somebody a drink or take one yourself; you render yourself open to a penalty of not less than one thousand dollars, in default of which you get six months in prison. It seems to me and I put it to you, when you have a sumptuary law of that character, all the safeguards of the citizen should be maintained.

Now, I read to you simply from the law, and at Section 139, I read the following:

Denial of the writ of quo warranto; denial of the writ of mandamus; denial of the writ of injunction; denial of the writ of certiorari; denial of the writ of prohibition; denial, if put in simpler English, denial of justice, the whole truth would be manifest.

These chapters go on to say, as respects the Liquor Commission or any servant, or any employees or any courts administering the Act, there shall be no resort to the writs which have been the foundations of the British liberty from almost time immemorial. No writ of injunction may be granted to prevent either temporarily or permanently, the Commission or any of its members from doing anything.

In Section 130, it assassinated the write of Habeas Corpus, only they were overcome by shame and didn't say it in so many words. Why was this law passed? I can remember the Attorney-General saying, "Good honest people of the Province of Quebec, this is not meant for you; it is meant for the bootleggers." A bootlegger is a man convicted, not a man merely suspected. As long as he is just suspected of it, why shouldn't he have the same rights as a man suspected of murder, rape, holdup or theft? Do you know what he was acting upon? He was acting on a characteristic that you have in Quebec, which you have in Ontario and which they have in all the nine provinces of the Dominion—the concept in the mind of every citizen that a thing is not unjust unless it is done to him personally, and nobody imagines that he is going to be a bootlegger so he says, "It frees me; to hell with the other fellow. Who cares? It will never matter."

You know, if there is one thing I would like you to carry away it is this idea that you can't hurt anybody by law without hurting everybody. Conceivably, if anybody walked along the east side of Yonge Street, treading on everybody's toes, with a pair of good heavy boots, people on the west side would say, "'What of it? We are not on that side." An Englishman would cross the street and call a policeman and smash the treader of toes in the eyes, because he is against treading on toes as a matter of principle. (Applause.) We must do one thing or the other—either we must become British again in that particular, or else stop proclaiming ourselves as British.

Having tasted blood in this respect, having said, "I can do anything to these people". what is the next step taken by the government. I am going to read an amendment to the Act. You remember that I told you that the writ of mandamus and the other writ of certiorari were abolished as regards the Liquor Act in favouring the Liquor Commission. The amendment says: "No proceeding by way of injunction, mandamus or other special or provisional measure shall be against the government of this Province or against any Minister thereof, or any officer acting upon instructions of any such Minister for anything done or omitted, or proposed to be done or omitted in the exercise of the duties thereof including the exercise of any authority conferred or purporting to be conferred upon same by any act of this legislature." So, with the exception of the writ of certiorari, forgotten in this enactment, all means of control of the civil servants have been abolished in the Province of Quebec.

I wish I had time to give an instance of that but I must press on.

But it is no use preaching entirely to the Province of Quebec. I would like to preach about Ontario a bit. What was the next thing? We had freedom from inquisition. The British constitutional method of prosecuting crime or any penal offence is this, and it is an honest, sporting, above-board method of prosecuting: There must be some man responsible for the charge, responsible civilly and criminally. He must reduce his charge to writing; the writing must be sworn to before a Judge. A copy of it must be served upon the accused person in order that he may know what he is accused of and he must be warned that he has a right to remain silent until the charge is brought home to him.

This, you will see, is in direct opposition to procedure by inquisition. In the Province of Quebec, procedure by inquisition has started to be established by an amendment in 1933 to the Qubec Liquor Act. Suppose I commit the offence of having a broached bottle of liquor in my office—and I may say that I ommit the offence often! I strongly hold with my friend, Clarence Darrow, that no citizen is obliged to be a damned fool! Suppose I commit that offence and some evening I give a client, on my way back from court, a treat. Perhaps he thinks I should have pleaded the case better and he wants revenge. He goes to the Liquor Commission and tells them that I have a broached bottle in my office and therefore I have committed the heinous offence for which I can be fined a thousand dollars. The Liquor Commission sends a man down to swear the information that I live in the Province of Quebec; that I have knowledge of an infraction committed against the Quebec Liquor Act, and therefore I must appear before the magistrate to answer questions about it. In I walk and say, "Here I am, in answer to your earnest invitation." He says, "Sit down; put your hand on the Bible. You swear to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help me, God." Never was any prayer better needed! I say, "Judge, am I accused of anything?" He says, "We don't have to tell you that. You answer questions; that is all you have to do." I must either perjure myself to save paying a thousand dollar fine or tell the truth and incriminate myself or go to jail for not speaking. Silence is golden but we are off the gold standard in that respect.

Not only can that be done to me, but to my private secretary, my partner, my office boy, any of my clients, and they must be put to the alternative of incriminating me or perjuring themselves through loyalty to me, or going to jail for an indefinite time for contempt of court. Have you ever heard of more monstrous legislation than that? I don't think that a more serious blow has been struck at the integrity of British institutions since the beginning of time.

The next thing the government has done by way of filing down liberty is to give official approval to torture as a method by which to investigate crime. I have been practicing law for twenty-six years. I have been a Crown prosecutor, and never have I resorted to third degree methods which I proclaim here as illegal, silly, monstrous and inefficient. If you are going to proceed against a man by torture it is only a question of the amount of torture before you get an admission that he is guilty.

Let me tell you what happened in the Province of

Quebec: A poor derelict tramp was arrested in Hull. He was suspected of a murder. Was there evidence that he had committed it? I don't know; that is immaterial. There wasn't enough evidence to bring him before the magistrate, so the police took him to the cells and for six weeks held him there. They said, "Tell the truth and you go out of here." He says, "I am telling the truth. I am not guilty." "That isn't the truth," they say. For the policemen, the only truth is self-accusation. There he was for six weeks, waiting the alternative of speaking and going on the scaffold or remaining silent and, as far as he knew, remaining there forever. He saved them the trouble. He hanged himself to the bars of his own cell. By any conviction in the world, that is murder and I would be prepared, if the Attorney-General of Quebec would give me the prosecution, to hang the man who gave this order. (Applause.) Everybody understands that. Every policeman hangs his head in shame when you bring it home. This legislation has started to go back two hundred years and reconsecrate torture as a method of investigation but we in the Province of Quebec have seen the Attorney-General, after the Court of Appeal quashed a conviction on account of these things, get up and say to the assembled Chiefs of Police of the City of Montreal and the Province of Quebec: "Never mind what the Court of Appeal says. I approve of the third degree as a method of investigation."

I am here to proclaim my shame of the leading man in the Province and a man required by it to cause the law to be respected.

Time is fleeting. I must pass on. But when the British people have freedom of access to the courts of the land to try every issue, it is not to courts which do not permit the usual method of examination by cross enquiry and argument. We have in the Province of Quebec, two bodies lifted high above the control of any court—the Quebec Liquor Commission and the Workmen's Compensation Board and I proclaim those as workers of injustice.

Then, we have had as one of the guarantees of our liberty, trial by juries. In the Province of Quebec it is going and going fast. You can't blame the French-Canadian so much. The principle is not so much a part of their consciousness as it is of ours. But I warn you of this: Your governments are constantly copying our governments in what they do that is evil, so now I ask you to be on you guard. Grand Jury has been abolished —-abolished, according to the Attorney-General, because it costs a lot of money and because it very seldom reverses the magistrate's judgment, and because they have created in the Province of Quebec the highest minded magistracy it ever had—as if you could do that after holding power for thirty-five years and appointing only your own henchman in all that time! I could make as good an argument for the elimination of fire brigades. They cost a lot of money, they are very seldom used!

The secrecy of the ballot was your guarantee. By a simple modification the ballot is no longer secret. You know your ballot and the Federal ballot and also those in the Province of Quebec had a stub detached from the ballot and endorsed with the initials of the returning officer. When the stub came back he knew it was the one he had issued by a letter marking the counterfoil. The government made sure that the man who sold the vote would deliver it. He gave him a marked ballot. If you want your ten dollars you go in and bring out a blank ballot and you get your ten or your five—C.O.D. voting.

Well, the Dillion Act was passed which changed the law.

The reason for this legislation was that it was a terrible attack on the parliament of the Province. We were sullying the Province by saying that some one else had sullied it and Mr. Taschereau was to contend that the Province of Quebec was as pure and white as driven snow and he forbade her stripping for a bath!

I have preached it and I have said to every Quebecker who would listen, that nothing of individual liberty is left in the Province of Quebec, and now I come to my real sermon to you. When I entered this controversy and I hope you are all taking note of this—you have a house to sweep, too—when I began the controversy, the Prime Minister said, "O, it's all been said before," and he didn't pay much attention. As I went on, he decided that something had to be said about it and you have in The Gazette of November 8, an article on the front page, headed, "Premier Takes Calder In Hand Over Speeches; Stoutly Refutes 'Reactionary Tide' Attack on Quebec." When you are in a Pharisaical mood you say, "We are better than Quebec." When we, in Quebec, are in a Pharisaical mood, we say, "We are no worse than Ontario." I don't know which is the more complimentary. I am going to leave this paper on the table for your inspection. Mr. Taschereau said, "What about Ontario? In Ontario the following statutes have been passed:

"In the Ontario Mining Act, injunction, mandamus and prohibition have been abolished. In the Ontario County Courts Act, Section 23 restrains prohibition and Section 26 restricts certiorari. In the Ontario Pubiic Health Act, no order or proceeding shall be vacated, quashed or set aside for want of form or be removed or removable by certiorari or otherwise into the Supreme Court.

"In the Ontario Railway and Municipal Board Act, no order, decision or proceeding of the Board shall be questioned, reviewed, restrained or removed by prohibition, injunction, certiorari or any other process or proceeding in any court.

"In the Workmen's Compensation Act, there is no injunction, prohibition or any other process or proceeding in any court.

"In the Ontario Liquor Control Act, there is the total abolition of injunction, prohibition, or mandamus or other process or proceeding.

And listen to this: "The Ontario Judicature Act: No extraordinary remedy by way of injunction, mandamus or otherwise shall lie against the Crown or against any Minister thereof or any officer acting upon the instructions of any Minister for anything done or omitted or proposed to be done or omitted in the exercise of his office including the exercise of any authority conferred or purporting to be conferred upon him by an Act of this Legislature." A few minutes ago, you thought ill of Quebec because you thought we had such legislation. I think it is time to remove the beam out of your own eye.

Mr. Taschereau goes on, citing statute after statute. I haven't time to do any more. Mr. President has to have an innings again.

I want to say this as a parting word and I am paraphrasing now, no less a man than Lord Hewart of Bury Chief Justice of England who wrote a book, entitled, "The New Despotism," in which he denounces the tyranny of the civil servants and the oblivion of the master citizen. He goes on to say this: Democracy is not a patent medicine; it is not a fancy religion. It is a mode of control and an assertion of liberty which has been evolved by two thousand years of Nordic ancestry. It may not be good for others but it is best for us and owing to the gradual encroachment of the civil servants and the supineness and servility of the citizen master, it is disappearing.

I will say this, and I say it, weighing my words: If you don't maintain British democracy and if you don't defend it wherever it is threatened, then the only thing that holds this Empire together is gone and there is no advantage in saying as Paul used to say, "I am a Roman citizen." There is no more advantage in saying, "I am a British citizen," and if there is no advantage in saying "I am a British citizen," why have an Empire at all? The time to kill these things is when they are beginning (Applause) And let me say, since Shakespeare also relieved the horror of his worst sins by a little humour, let me tell you what is going on now in Ontario and Quebec, only in Quebec there was one just man, myself, who has denounced these things considerably and will continue to denounce them as long as he has a tongue to wag and a brain to think. The process is an insidious one. We are losing our liberties and that is happening to us in a respect similar to that which happened to the dear little girl who went to an infantry regiment ball an was in what we pleasantly called "a hugging booth," with a young subaltern. He noticed a little wool protruding from under the epaulette of her evening dress. He pulled on it and the more he pulled, the more it came. Finally, he had a ball of silken wool in his left hand. When the little girl went home, she said to her mother, "I don't know how it happened but I have lost my combinations." (Prolonged Applause.)

OUR MISSION—SOUND PUBLIC FINANCE

AN ADDRESS BY THE HONOURABLE SIR HENRY L. DRAYTON, K.C., P.C., K.B.

March 8th, 1934

At a Luncheon Meeting of The Empire Club of Canada, in conjunction with The Canadian Club and the Toronto Board of Trade.

SIR HENRY DRAYTON was introduced by Mr. A. E. Arscott, the President of The Canadian Club.

MR. ARSCOTT: Mr. Premier, Sir Henry, and Gentlemen: There are two factors that go to make a success of a meeting of this character; first, a subject demanding general interest and one which is of immediate concern to the public; secondly, and more important, a speaker who knows his subject and who, as well, is thoroughly known. In both these instances today, our success is already assured. Sir Henry has just completed a very successful lecture tour throughout the West, accompanied by Mr. F. B. Gundy who by the way, was the first President of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, and by Mr. W. McL. Clarke of Montreal, the Secretary of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce.

As this is a joint meeting of the Board of Trade and the Empire Club and the Canadian Club, and as we have Mr. J. M. Macdonnell, the newly-elected President of the Board of Trade, and Mr. J. H. Brace, the Vice-President of The Empire Club at the table, I am going to ask them to participate in the formalities. I shall not indulge in any further remarks, but ask Mr. Macdonnell to introduce the speaker.

Mr. Macdonnell: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Prime Minister and Gentlemen:—It is unnecessary and it would be verging on impertinence for me to attempt to introduce Sir Henry Drayton to any Toronto audience or, indeed, to any Canadian audience, but it is not unnecessary and I hope it will not be impertinent for me to endeavour to say a word to Sir Henry, and for you, to express the thanks of the Board of Trade and the Chamber of Commerce for what Sir Henry has undertaken and is going to do.

When the Chamber of Commerce set up a National Committee it was a primary necessity to have as the Chairman a man who by his prestige, character and ability, could command respect from coast to coast, but it was, perhaps, necessary to have something even more essential than any of those things and that was a man with a sense of public duty, without which our democratic institutions will not work at all. I think you will agree we were doubly fortunate in getting Sir Henry. We know of the work which he has done in his own church. We know that he carried to a successful conclusion there, a great restoration fund and I hope it is not fanciful or imaginary to think that his work in the other sphere, as well, may be the means of bringing certain restorations. He has returned from a most successful speaking tour in the West and I think the presence of this representative audience today is some indication of the fact that you already believe that what Sir Henry Drayton has done is well worth doing and I like to think that your presence here today will be an encouragement to him to know it is worth going on and carrying further the great task which he has taken up.

Sir Henry Drayton:—Mr. Chairman, Fellow Canadians: It is an awful thing to have a reputation. It is terribly hard to live one down; it is terribly hard to live up to one when one's friends are unduly optimistic. I have always found it difficult; I find it doubly difficult, today, coming back home among you.

Well, Gentlemen, I suppose you are all very, very interested in how we are getting along, in how the country is getting along, whether it is functioning properly or not. We have heard so many tales of woe as to the West. I am going to tell you that the West isn't half as bad as a lot of people paint it. I am going to tell you that the fact is that the West is only waiting its chance to function again. Take, for example, Vancouver; conditions in Vancouver are infinitely better this year than they were last year. Vancouver, this year, wound up its ordinary business without a deficit and with a cash balance of $60,000., and the Mayor and the rest of them are absolutely sure that Vancouver has turned the corner and is going to show the rest of us the way back to prosperity.

Be that as it may, and I believe it to be true, there is one thing you may be sure of; that is that the spirit of the West is there. The determination of the people is there, and given anything like proper conditions, with some little help here and there from the burden of taxation, the West, instead of being a liability to Canada as some people talk of the West, will be a tremendous asset to our country.

Well, Gentlemen, what is the message now I have been talking of? I am not going to give many figures but you have to have some; you can't get along without some. I want you to have some figures in your mind, something which will show to you, as your fellow citizens know in the West, the absolute necessity for the strictest conservation of your resources, here, there and everywhere; the absolute necessity of economy, here, there and everywhere. What does economy mean? Economy isn't meanness; economy means management, but nothing else. Management in our governments, reducing all expenditures that are not absolutely and properly necessary and for expenditures that ought to be made, seeing that for each dollar spent, we get a hundred cents value.

Now, I want you to carry in your mind a few figures. Take our expenditures for the year 1930-31, municipal, provincial and Dominion; those expenditures amounted to the sum of nine hundred and twenty millions of dollars. That is the expenditure for the ordinary purposes, that is the ordinary cost of government administration. What does it mean? Take, again, the same year, 1930-31, it means this: Here we are, an agricultural country, very, very largely; yes, our future is depending upon it. Nevertheless, in that year, 1930-31, take the value of all our field crops from one side of Canada to the other, from the Pacific to the Atlantic, and you find that their total value is less than one half of the sum spent by our governments in one form or another for that year. That is the sort of thing that brings home facts and truths to the people. You can visualize that. You know what that means. You know what that sum really means in toil and effort and work; work, here, there and everywhere on every farm right over this great country.

Take another illustration: some people are saying, "Well, we have got lots of people with money in this country, why shouldn't they pay for this?", and it has been suggested that they be called upon to do it. Suppose that the country was to take all incomes that are assessable, and you know that the assessors get after us pretty well—the inspectors are pretty busy, they are on their job—nevertheless, all the assessable incomes for that year in all Canada only amounted to some eight hundred millions, again we are away short.

But that is not all. Those are the ordinary expenditures of that year. The government spent, altogether, one billion and fifty-two million. Extra expenditure was inescapable. That was the expense thrown upon us, as it was thrown upon practically every civilized nation in the world and certainly on every Christian nation that recognizes the want and suffering of their fellow citizens, an inescapable burden, the burden of looking after those of our own who, today, unfortunately, can not look after themselves. Yes, duties and obligations come to nations as well as to individuals. Take yourself as individuals;

some relation of yours is suffering misfortune, somebody who has some right to look to you for assistance. You take it, you assume the burden, but assuming that burden as one that belonging to you, assuming that burden, what do you do? You immediately proceed to adjust your budget to cut off each and every expense that can be cut off and then you hope to carry on. You recognize the obligation but you also recognize the limitations of your income and you act accordingly.

Well, Gentlemen, there has been a lot of that sort of thing found everywhere in Canada. I have found it so in the West; I know it is so in the East. Any amount of houses today are carrying on at a very, very different scale of living than the scale which obtained before the crash. It is general; it is practically everywhere; it is invading almost every home and almost every home is carried on—yes, carried on, by the Canadian housewife. Economics—do you know where the word comes from? It comes from the old Greek word, expressing "good housekeeping," and good housekeeping, practised by our Canadian women, has enabled the homes to carry on with very, very great changing values.

Yes, times are getting better. Here, there and everywhere, times are getting better, but how and why? Simply because the same economies, the same necessity, the same urge to do without anything and everything that can be done without is observed. Yes, factories, places of business, that have been carrying on for years in the red are now black. Why? Certainly not as a result of the lessening of any burden of taxation, here, there or anywhere, but despite it! How and why? Simply because the situation has been faced, simply because inescapable economies have been put into effect, cost what it may.

One of the best things I got in the West was this: I ran across a farmer—I had known him before—and he said to me: "Why, give the West only two years of anything like decent crops and wheat at seventy cents, and in two years' time, the West will be absolutely on its feet again."

But I said, "Hold on; wait a minute. I have been here before. I have often sat in with you on conferences and the old idea was to see if freight rates could not be so adjusted to leave a little more of the farmers' earnings on the farm and you always told me that the farmers' costs per bushel were in the neighbourhood of seventy cents, sometimes sixty-eight cents, sometimes seventy-one cents, but always in the neighbourhood of seventy cents. Yet, you tell me you can get the West on its feet if you get only seventy cents on an ordinary crop. It can't be done."

He said, "It can be done. You don't know what you can do until you have to do it. You don't know what economies you can make until you have to make them, and I want to tell you that the farmers of the West, recognizing the situation, have so adjusted their costs that the costs today, per bushel, instead of being seventy cents are nearer thirty-five cents, given an ordinary harvest."

Gentlemen, think what that means in devotion, in work, in planning, to cut costs from seventy cents to thirty-five cents. Why, the efforts, the sustained efforts, the hours of work are immeasurable! Just think of the change of conditions on those farms.

What are we asking today? We are asking today that governments should do what the housewife has done, that the Canadian home may carry on; what the farmer has done that the Canadian farm may carry on; what the businessman everywhere has done that commerce and business may again be carried on in our country. That is all we are asking governments to do. (Applause.) I know that governments are starting to economize. I hope that it is only a start. I was very, very happy to see that here in Ontario the government is starting a movement of economy in cutting down members.

(Applause.)

All over the West, the whole idea is this: Get rid of members. Let us have less talk and more work. (Applause.) Let us have less talk and less expense. Some people who are in favour of heavy memberships in our governments all over the country, some people say, "After all, the amount paid out in salaries and indemnities isn't very great."

Now, I have been in politics. I know a little about it. Did any of you gentlemen ever take the trouble to see how long it takes to get rid of a Speech from the Throne? Did you ever notice how, after the gentleman on the right, the Leader of the Government, makes his statement and the Leader of the Opposition makes his statement, how many times the same thing is said, over and over again in a different form, with a little different shading, but generally without a single new thought of real use to the country—repetition after repetition? Out in the West they are getting this idea: that if one man says that black isn't white, that statement is just as good as if repeated by every one of his supporters who are all going to vote for him, anyway. It runs all down the line. As I say, I am very glad to see that a start has been made.

I will tell you another thing: In the West, whether the people will be able to do it or not—all we can do is start things—anything of any real success in a crusade like this must be done by the people for the people. They, themselves, have to do it. You can't expect the politicians to commit "felo de se." They can't do it. You can't expect them to do it. It may be of tremendous benefit to the country but you can't expect them to do it.

I will tell you about the West. They say, "Here, we have too many Provincial seats." There are twenty-three Provincial seats in Saskatchewan. They start to think this: We used to have sixty-three fellows, saying "Yes" and "No", so many times over. What did they do? They started a bit of cutting down from sixty-three to fifty-four. They have made that start. Then they said, "Well, how would it be if we were to save ourselves all the cost of the preparation of the voters lists and adopt the Dominion lists? The Dominion is there. They are doing the work; they have done it. If we adopt the Dominion list, instead of the fifty-four constitutencies as we now have them, we would only have twenty-three and if we really seriously think that twenty-three men can't sit long enough and talk often enough, let us have two or three members for each of the constituencies and let them sit long enough." I don't know whether the people can do it but they are keen to do it.

I have had something to do with politics. I never was very much good as a politician. They used to say that I was caught too late. Perhaps I was; I dare say I was. There is one thing that you can notice everywhere; every man knows it. Costs, of course, do not depend so much on the number of your men but on the demands made on the treasury and on the government by each and every one of the men you have got in the House. That is where it comes in. We have never got away in Canada from parochial ideas, from provincial ideas. We don't think, yet, quite nationally. If we were thinking nationally, for example, we would never have ten sets of bosses, looking after the same business as we have in lot of things. We wouldn't do it. Up to date I don't know the reason exactly, except that we are accustomed to it; perhaps we like it, I don't think we do, really, when we stop to think of it, but it goes on, here, there and everywhere. Admittedly, in Canada of all countries of the world, we are the most grotesquely over-governed and we do nothing whatever to try and stop it. I will say something about that later on.

As I say, governments are starting to economize and the whole idea of our campaign is to see that they do and help them in doing it—making it popular for governments to economize instead of to squander money. You know it is a great change in our orientation. Can we do it? I think we have to do it, but can we, will we do it?

I am representing in this campaign a lot of the chief offenders—they are all on the penitent bench. In the past the great functions of Boards of Trade has been to go down to Ottawa, and to go to the Provincial capitals with petitions that this or that work should be done which they think is going to help in their own immediate vicinity. Did you ever hear yet of a deputation of Canadian citizens or an association going to any government, anywhere, and saying, "For Heaven's sake, stop spending money?" It is a tremendous change for us to make. You know public expenditure has always been popular—today, here we are, spending more than a million dollars a week, simply because we indulged in that ever pleasant job, while it is going on, of living up to the Joneses and beating the Joneses out in railway business. But every government that did it was acclaimed for doing it. People never got the idea into their heads, as today we now know too sadly, that there is nothing that any politician can do for you in connection with public work or public expenditures that you don't pay for and pay for several times over because those things have been done on borrowed money. Can you change? *Can* you change? Let me tell you, Gentlemen, that the future of the Canadian homes, the future of the Canadian farm, the future of Canadian business, depends upon that question—Can you change? Will you change? Will you forget local interests? Will you forget everything except one thing — the general good of Canada as a whole and the burden, the pressing burden of the Canadian ratepayers? It is a big change. Can you do it?

Do you know what happens to governments? It is a very fortunate thing that it can't happen to us. It is a very fortunate thing for us that it can happen with governments. You and I, the rest of us here, live within our income or in the long run we are either with the sheriff or in the bread line. You would be in one situation or the other. You can't go on over-spending. Governments, unfortunately, can. Let me give a figure of what happens. For the last twenty years our municipalities and our provinces and the Dominion, together—we put them all together—for every hundred dollars worth of income we have received in Canada, governments in one form or another have spent, $134.00, and you are now paying for it and you don't like it. When that was going on the going was good; we never said one word against it. What is the result? The result is this: the result is that there is a resultant capital debt for each man, woman, child, yes, and infant in Canada, a resultant capital debt of $600. Imagine! Gentlemen, we want no more public debt! (Applause.) Governments aren't balancing their budgets, when they talk about ordinary expenses and issue new bonds. It is popular among politicians today to say that the cost of interest is too high, that it must come down. Who is putting the cost of interest up in this country? What are the reasons that are freezing up credit in this country? Think—in the year, 1933, governments in one form or another, governments took ninety-seven per cent of all the money subscribed for all the bonds issued in Canada! Imagine! Imagine! Cheap money, essentially! We want expenses, everywhere, cut down. The Dominion had two very successful refunding loans, making a considerable saving. I hope the provinces will be able to make a good many more but the way for governments, as for anybody else to obtain cheap money is to balance their budgets and stop borrowing new money. It is the only way to do it.

You know that this country in lots of ways is in a very fortunate position. One way is in the spirit of the people, what they are doing and will do, and there is no question about Canada carrying on. But there are others: take, for example, the position of people in this country who have provided money so the country can carry on. I refer to our depositors. In the country to the South, President Roosevelt is considering—yes, he has committed the country to the expenditure of approximately four billions of dollars. For what purpose? For what purpose? For the purpose of helping depositors whose money has gone. A very, very heavy load on the country. He is assuming the responsibility because he wants to restore purchasing power and let the poor people who, through not the slightest fault of their own, find themselves where they find themselves today. What a different picture in Canada! What a different picture! In Canada you have got deposits of $1,800,000,000,—I am using round figures—placed at the disposal of commerce and governments. Why, governments? Because governments are using it. The deposits are made by 4,600,000 people. True, they are not all Canadians. Strangers have thought very, very well of the solidity of our Constitution and the strength of our banks. They are not all Canadians but the great mass of them are Canadians and we have an average bank deposit of $413.40. Well, there is no assistance necessary for these people from our governments. On the other hand the governments are using over seven hundred million dollars of the depositors' money, every day helping governments to carry on. The money is today represented in government bonds and securities and government loans. O, yes, we are in a very, very much better situation, in very many ways, than our friends to the south.

I said something about duplication. There was a farmer in the West and he had a chicken ranch, I think he called it, and he said, "Here, I wrote a letter to Ottawa. I had had a little difficulty about my chickens and I got back very quickly a polite letter, written very nicely, and all the rest of it, no delay at all, telling me what I should do. Just about that time I also got a publication from the Provincial Department of Agriculture, and I thought that I would get confirmation there. I wrote and I got entirely different advice. The only thing I could see that was really certain was that I, with other Canadians, was paying for both organizations, and I wondered if it were not possible for them to at least get together so they wouldn't give diversified opinions and advice."

That set me thinking and I got together a little information showing how we have duplication of activity in the one great Department of Agriculture. There are a lot of things in agriculture. You have the overlapping in the Dominion of the activities of the provinces. There are ten Ministers with the Deputies and all the rest of it. They are all paid, too! The Dominion and the nine provinces are all looking after dairying, live stock and field husbandry; the Dominion and five provinces are running horicultural services; the Dominion and four provinces look after veterinary work and experimental farms; while the Dominion and two provinces undertake to teach the farmer economics.

I have an idea, after talking to the farmers out West, if there is anybody who knows anything about farm economics it is the Canadian farmer. If we have any proper lectures on economics, we would have on the one hand, the Canadian housewife and on the other the Canadian farmer. The departments are a little more bashful about telling the farmers how to save money—we have only the Dominion and two provinces telling the farmers how to save money.

That is the overlapping in the Dominion. Let us see what is happening in the Provinces. Nova Scotia has thirteen fields of agricultural activity; New Brunswick has eleven, of which ten duplicate Nova Scotia's; Quebec has sixteen, nine of which duplicate New Bunswick's; Ontario has fifteen, twelve of which duplicate Quebec's; Manitoba has seven, six of which duplicate Ontario's; Saskatchewan has nine, five of which duplicate Manitoba's; Alberta has sixteen, seven of which duplicate Saskatchewan's; and British Columbia has twelve fields, nine of which duplicate Alberta's.

What do you think? Is there any management at all? Is there the slightest evidence of any co-operation at all?

Agriculture is our chief hope; the great thing we want, the one thing of first importance, the one object to which every effort should be strained is the obtaining and holding of proper export markets for our produce and the maintaining of proper prices.

What do you think of that? It isn't only that. I tell you that because that was given to me by the farmers. It is the same in companies. The old question of provincial rights is always raised. Translated into real terms, what does "provincial rights" mean? It simply means the right to pay additional taxes in one form or another! That is what it generally means.

It always comes down the same way. The provinces say, "Look, we are making money out of insurance regulation." They say, for example, "It is quite true that the Dominion has a magnificent department looking after insurance, but we have the absolute right to do it and make money out of it." I don't find insurance companies kicking; they are not paying for the duplication. You and I are paying for it. The insured always pays these things. There is a great provincial department down there. It is true that it costs fifty or sixty thousand dollars a year to run it and duplicate the Dominion's work, but the rates go up and the provinces are making money. Who is paying for it? The insured *You!*

Take another illustration, brought up in the West again —the question of mortgage loans. Let us take the biggest concern we have—the Canada Permanent Mortgage Company—not many years ago the whole taxation of the Canada Permanent on the net earnings (I am not speaking of land taxation and that sort of thing) was 1.4 per cent. Since governments have to look everywhere to see where they can raise another dollar on the side, quietly, without anybody knowing it, (If they can do it that way, there is a lot less trouble,) what have they done? They have multiplied the taxation of the net profits of the Canada Permanent Corporation more than fourteen times, until today the percentage is over 21 per cent and you wonder why you can't get cheap money. Where does the Canada Permanent get its receipts from? From each and every one of you mortgagors in the country. You can't get away from it; it is there, everywhere.

Time is going on. There is just one thing I want to talk about. That is education. People have been going for me about education. Now and again, you have people who are real spenders, firmly entrenched—great is Dianas of the Ephesians. But, you know, on this crusade, for crusade it is, you can't very well worry about those sort of things. In 1913 and 1914, this country spent on education, $44,000,000. In 1930 and 1931, it spent $178,000,000. Do you see anything for it?

I remember that back in 1913 and 1914, we thought pretty well of ourselves. Illiteracy was very rare. The standing of the professional man was very good. There was only one complaint about education and that was that we could not absorb it. I remember the trouble we had in Ontario. Here we were a great expense, educating wonderful men—for whom? For the United States. That is where they were going, large percentages of them, all the time. We could not absorb them. You can't go in for nothing but race horses; this country needs work horses today. Every man who is working is the asset of our country—not the theorists. I see they are quarreling among themselves. This morning in the press I see that Mr. Leacock, on one hand, says one thing and others say other things. I see that Mr. Leacock says that real universities are made by the souls of men and not luxurious buildings. I know very, very well that this country would have saved many millions if Mr. Leacock had been a little sooner in giving voice to these opinions; or that his opinions had been adopted.

It was said at the same time by these people that we were doing these things cheaply because, you see the dollar had dropped now, and if you put it in the equivalent dollars, we are really showing a saving. I never thought for one minute that the expenses of education consisted in buying things in terms of gold. It is perfectly true that the gold standard is down; we have a discount of over forty per cent. But do you find the dollars any easier to get? I have not. Don't you find it just as hard to get the dollars as when at gold parity? Yes, and don't you all realize also that the one thing that has been tried, in the United States in particular by President Roosevelt, is to make that dollar of yet less value? Why? Because commodities are down, everything is down, that makes expense for education. Instead of the dollar having a depreciation for the purposes of educational costs, it is the contrary. On the contrary it has a greater purchasing power.

If you take the figures compiled by the Citizens' Research Institute, you will find that when the dollar was at par, that is the gold dollar in 1929, commodities were so high that there was no premium on the dollar in so far as purchasing purposes were concerned. In 1933, when these learned gentlemen were making their compilations, that dollar in terms of Canadian commodities, instead of being worth one dollar, has become worth $1.30.

Gentlemen, I am afraid time is up. Can I just leave one thought? It is this: no country can exist, no country does exist, decently and properly, unless it is full of happy, contented homes. After all, the home is the one real justification for all we are trying to do, so that people may live happily by their own efforts, look after their own property. Will you get into the trenches for that home? It is Canada's great asset. It is threatened here, there and everywhere by taxation in one form or the other. Can we not resolve now to think in terms Canadian, to insist on economy, to insist on reduction of representation, here, there and everywhere, to insist on proper and up-to-date amendments to the British North America Act. So far, I think the only public man who has had the courage to say that it is necessary is our own Premier, here. He just said one thing that I did not agree with. He said, "This isn't the time for doing it." I say if you don't get it done now with the scourge of necessity upon you, you will never get it done. What are you going to do when you do that? You want to try to leave industry, commerce, farming, every one of our activities subject only to one taskmaster, to only one set of people to make reports to, instead of having to send reports all over the whole country. These amendments, I am quite sure the Prime Minister would agree, would be amendments to place in the hands of the Dominion, nation wide matters, and to reserve to the provinces their right to look after, untrampelled, their own business, education, municipali ties, everything local, even to the extent of taking away from the Act the old clause that I always thought a menace, "that any work the Dominion Cabinet so declared should become the work of the Dominion."

Gentlemen, work for it. Will you remember that this job can only be done by you and others like you, exerting all the influence you can with your representatives. Remember, they want to do what you want them to. They all do. That is why they spent so much money in the past. They thought it was popular. If you urge the people to gather to the defence of their homes to lessen the burdens of taxation that today are oppressing and hindering that progress which is going on in spite of them, you will do a wonderful day's work for Canada. (Prolonged applause.)

Mr. Arscott:—Gentlemen, I shall now call on Mr. Brace, Vice President of The Empire Club to make the response on our behalf.

Mr. Brace:—Sir Henry, Mr. Premier, Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: The address to which we have just listened comes to us from one who is actuated by no selfish prejudice. It comes to us from one who can speak with authority, gained from the experience of a lifetime devoted to public service. I think the message is timely. Sir Henry has developed the thoughts which should be the thoughts of all of our country. We all require relief from the burdens of taxation which are weighing so heavily upon all of us. It is essential that governments should balance their budgets, just as private businesses balance their budgets. Sir Henry has pointed out that the responsibility is ours. Unquestionably governments will act with prudence and thrift when they recognize that the citizens of the country ask for prudence and thrift. We, on our hand, must realize that with prudence and thrift we must expect only such public services as are essential. I feel that we all have a responsibility to future generations. It is unfair for us to mortgage the future. We have a responsibility to our children and our children's children.

I have much pleasure, indeed, in moving a hearty vote of thanks to Sir Henry Drayton for the inspiring message he has given us today. (Applause.)

WOULD A RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR BE ANOTHER WORLD WAR?

AN ADDRESS BY MR. OWEN LATTIMORE

March 22, 1934

In the absence of Major W. James Baxter, M.C., the President, the Chair was occupied by MR. J. P. PRATT, first vice-president.

Before the Guest Speaker was introduced the following were appointed as a committee to nominate the officers of the Club for the ensuing year: Colonel Geo. A. Drew, Mr. John G. Spence, Mr. H. G. Stapells, Colonel Hooper and Mr. Hugh S. Eayrs.

MR. J. P. PRATT: The Club is indeed fortunate in having as its guest speaker today one who is recognized as an authority on the countries of the Far East.

Mr. Lattimore was born in Washington, D.C. At a very early age he accompanied his parents to China where he received his early education. He then attended St. Bees School in England and later Harvard University. Mr. Lattimore is a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, a Member of the Royal Asian Society, and a Member of the Explorers Club of New York. He has travelled by caravan across the wastes of Khara, Gobi and on through Turkestan, drifting down the Sungari River in Wilder Manchuria. He spent months in lonely village settlements to gain first hand information for his book "Manchuria, Cradle of Conflict", a genuine literary contribution to the shelves of historical and documental information on China.

Mr. Lattimore only recently returned from Peking, after having made further travels in Central and Eastern

Inner Mongolia. He will speak today upon the subject, "Would a Russo-Japanese War be another World War?"

MR. OWEN LATTIMORE: Gentlemen of The Empire Club:—It is a particular pleasure for me to visit Toronto for the first time because although this is only my second visit to Canada, I have close ties with Canada and especially with Toronto because my wife's people come from close to Toronto, right in this country here and I feel that I am in home country when I am speaking to you. (Applause.)

To speak of a possible Russo-Japanese war as the beginning of a world war sounds very sensational. Now, I don't want to make this talk any more sensational than I can help. I want to stick as close as I can to facts.

Let me start off by comparing the present situation in the Far East with the situation in Europe in 1914. When the bomb was thrown at Serajevo in Serbia, few people thought it was the beginning of a war which would involve the whole of Europe. Still fewer people would have laid a bet at that date. Before the War was over, countries as distant from Europe as America and China were involved in the War. Yet, in Europe in 1914, the situation was comparatively well-known. It had developed slowly over years. Each nation knew its own position pretty well; it knew its opponents and its friends and if ever there was a time in history when nations could count on where they stood, 1914 was the year. Yet, in spite of all that was known by the different nations of the positions that they held in reference to the balance and structure of European wars, it was impossible to limit the War. It spread and spread until it involved most of the world.

In the Far East at the present day you have a situation which is much less clear. There are not many people who would sign their name to a prediction that in the event of a general war, America would do this, or France would do that, or that Great Britain would do something else, and I don't propose to make any such rash predictions. All I can say is that with a situation involving such immense territories and so many nations, if any one nation resorts to a drastic solution by war, there is no telling where the process will stop, how far it will spread or how rapidly it will spread or what nations will be drawn in at the end. The country is so unknown, except the fringe of the coast, and such developments can take place in the interior that a situation of definite importance to the whole world can be created before the world knows anything about it and before the world can do anything about it.

Canada is, like us in America, I think, vitally interested in questions of collective guarantees of world peace, the extending of international compacts for the preservation of peace. How far can we rely on it? The League of Nations failed in the Manchurian situation in 1931. How far can we count on the League of Nations in the future? How far can we count on any alternative grouping of nations?

Let us put it this way: International negotiation of any kind is a substitute for war. To declare war is to have recourse to the ultimate realities. War is cruel, war is wasteful, but it does bring out the bedrock facts of the relative power of different nations. If you are going to use negotiation as a substitute for war, you must have negotiation that is based on fact. If the negotiation is not closely based on facts, so they really approximate the true realities of the situation then your negotiation is going to fail and break down.

How far does the structure of international treaty arrangements conform with the nations in the Far East? I think that it doesn't conform closely at all, and the reason is obvious. From the time of the first open-door declaration on through 1915, and in the demands of Japan to the 1922 Washington Conference and the peace treaty when Japan was manoeuvred away from the mainland of Asia, on to 1931 when Japan finally broke away from the treaty system and succeeded in gaining a foothold on the mainland of Asia, the whole international treaty system has been based on naval power. Even in the structure of the Nine Power Treaty and the Naval Treaties in the Pacific is the assumption that international relations of China are closely co-ordinated with the balance of naval power between the great nations of the West and Japan in the Pacific Ocean. Japan, once having succeeded in breaking away from the network of treaties and having succeeded in establishing herself on the mainland in Manchuria, by creating the State of Manchukuo has entirely altered the situation, because one of the vital questions is the land power of Japan in Manchuria and the danger to international peace in the Far East, so that a system of restrictions based on sea power will probably fail to restrain any developments that have been based primarily on land power, and it is the land power of Japan that is now vital, and the only competitor for Japanese land power is the land power of Russia.

The way in which this land power of Japan affects China is peculiar and it is not easy to understand for us who approach the problems of the Far East from the sea, but a good portion of my working life has been spent in the far interior of the Asiatic Continent and when you get as far inland as Chinese Turkestan, a couple of thousand miles from the Coast and turn and look back on China from that position, you see a very different China from the China that appears before the eyes of the visitor coming up on the steamer to Shanghai or Tientsin. You realize that the Western World conception of China is based on a very thin fringe of treaty ports along the Coast and that our relations with the government of China were our conception of Chinese history and of Chinese economics. Chinese geographical factors are all based on the sea.

The foreign office, whether the State Department in Washington or the Foreign Office in London, which would venture to guarantee that its sea coast relation with China would hold good in the face of continental developments two thousand miles inland, is not to be found, I think.

China is an enormous country. It is, roughly, as large as the Continental United States. And yet only about three-eighths, a good deal less than half of that country is true Chinese country. It isn't inhabited by people who speak Chinese, who have always historically been Chinese, who feel themselves Chinese, not only in race and nationality but in culture and tradition. The larger half of the territory marked "China" on the map are not Chinese in feeling or in history. Manchuria, Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and Tibet are marked China on the map and form the greater part of China on the map but they are not China in the true sense. Manchuria is largely an exception because in recent years the enormous migration of Chinese to Manchuria has greatly altered the picture, so that the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of Manchuria at the present day are Chinese in language, race, culture and political feeling, but even with Manchuria added, for the sake of argument to China proper, still the larger part of the country consists of the people in the comparatively inland territories of Central Asia—Chinese Turkestan, Tibet and Mongolia.

Here you have a peculiar situation, that is that almost all of the five hundred million of the population of China are confined within less than half of that territory while in the enormous territory on the north of the great wall and west of the end of the great wall, there are not more than twenty-five million people altogether. There are less Mongols and Central Asian Turks and Tibetans added together than there are Chinese in Manchuria alone, where there are twenty-eight or thirty million Chinese.

The natural assumption of the Westerner in using western history as a basis of comparison is that there must be an irresistible push outward from the crowded heart of true China into the empty fringes of China proper. It is all the more important to realize that throughout some twenty centuries of history there has never been any such thrust. On the contrary, these lightly held and populated fringes of China have always borne down very heavily on the heart of China. The pulse rate of the history of China has been quickened in an endeavour to successfully resist invasions from these not numerous people of the north coming into China and establishing conquests there.

How is it then that all these countries are marked China on the map? That is because in the year 1911, when the Manchu Empire fell, China formed part of the Manchu Empire and the structure of that Empire was something like that of Austria-Hungary, to take an example of two separate nations with one sovereign. That is, the underlying structure of the Manchu Empire was Manchuria, subject to the Manchu Emperor. China, Mongolia, Tibet, were all subject to the Manchu Empire, none belonging to each other. The concept was not that Mongolia belonged to China or that China belonged to Mongolia; they were under the same Emperor. When the Empire fell the people had already become simply Chinese; they moved the capital to China and it became in language, in social feeling and in everything that made up their way of life, Chinese. So, while the Dynasty had become Chinese there was an underlying contradiction in the history of the formation of the Dynasty. It had been based on an alliance of frontier border people north of the great wall controlling China but not directly owning China and certainly not belonging to China. The Western World had long been in the habit of speaking of the Manchu Empire as the Chinese Empire and the world had taken it for granted that the Manchu Empire and the Chinese Empire were one and the same thing.

When the Empire fell and the Chinese Republic was declared the easier way to prevent international rivalries, to prevent the Russian ambitions of that time from overrunning Mongolia, to prevent open conflict between Russia and Japan, and in Manchuria to evade the question of the future of Chinese Turkestan and Thibet, was to write out the formula that the Chinese Empire no longer mentioned as the Manchu Empire had become the Chinese Republic. So, it was done.

All that fitted in with the traditions of the open-door doctrine, the territorial sanctity of China and the self-denying co-ordination of the western nations in refraining from carving out particular colonial dominions in China. That formula worked very well. In fact, the formula was well on the way to becoming the same thing as the reality. Manchuria was fast being turned into a genuine homogeneous part of China but the process had not been extended to Mongolia. Mongolia, to the present day, is still Mongolian. They speak Mongol, and prefer to speak Mongol; they live like Mongols and prefer to live like Mongols. They don't want to be Chinese. It is the same way with the Tibetans. It is the same way wih the Mongol races of Asia.

When the shock of the Japanese invasion crashing into the eastern part of the great wall frontier established the artificial nation of Manchukuo its effect went far beyond Manchukuo. Its effect was to shatter the structure of the outlying dominions of China and these effects are working and fomenting at the present day. There is a move toward autonomy in Mongolia and an unrest against Chinese rule in Chinese Turkestan; a wave of Tibetan nationalism moving back toward China is taking away from the Chinese land that the Chinese had colonized in the Tibet for the last few years. In other words, the conventional Chinese Republic has been broken up and the component parts have been preserved as a true China and a number of group organizations.

The process that has been begun in Manchuria can not easily be halted simply by the wish to halt it. I am not a student, particularly, of Japanese problems myself; I don't pretend to speak with authority on Japanese subjects. I believe that the majority of the people who do specialize in Japanese affairs believe that the Japanese themselves would be content to halt with Manchuria and develop Manchuria but the effects of their action have gone a long way beyond Manchuria. That is the kind of stone you start rolling; after that you have to keep out of the way of the stone. The question is: Where is this process going to halt, that was begun in Manchuria and how are international relations to deal with this new process, the new reality? The new fact is that we are not dealing with a single Chinese nation in opposition to a single Japanese nation. We are dealing with a group of nations of which China is one, and we are dealing not only with Japanese interests in the Far East but with Asian interests and yet, at the same time, all our treaties, all our legal recognition of this nation and that nation, and this naval quota and that naval quota, are based on a situation which has already been destroyed. If we throw our treaties into the discard and say that this is a chapter now completed and proceed to adjust ourselves by recognizing Manchukuo by attempting to recognize and admit openly and publicly the realities of the new situation, we convict ourselves in the eyes of people like the Chinese of cynicism and hypocrisy, so the practical benefits which we might gain by adjusting ourselves to the new situation would be offset by the moral loss, the distrust in the pledged word of western nations which people like the Chinese would forever feel. It is an almost impossible dilemma.

I think it is legitimate to speculate a little bit on the way in which this new frontier situation works. Take the relations of Manchuria, to go east of the great war frontier to begin with. The average person looks at the map and supposes that in the event of war between Russia and Japan, the keypoint would be Vladivostok, the end of the Russian railway, reaching across Siberia to the Pacific Coast. Personally, I don't think this at all. The railways have been there a long time. The Russians have theirs all made. It is only reasonable to suppose

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that each side knows at least roughly the troop strength at given points along the frontier, the disposition of air bases and so forth. The one frontier of uncertainty is the western frontier of Manchuria. Manchuria, historically—and this, again, is a fact unfortunately not taught in our ordinary books about the Far East—consists very largely of a Mongolian territory. The original Manchu conquest of China was based on an alliance between the Manchurian Mongols and the Manchus themselves. Ever since that time there has been a very large Mongol territory in Manchuria. That territory has been seriously cut into by Chinese colonization in recent years. It still remains the largest single territory in Manchuria. There are about two million Mongols in Manchuria—the largest non-Chinese population in Manchuria. They are on the western frontier of Manchuria, the only frontier not guarded by railway lines along which troops can be moved rapidly. They are in direct contact with the certain parts of Mongolia—Inner Mongolia—which is still under Chinese sovereignty. They are also in direct contact with Outer Mongolia which is under strong Russian influence.

The situation of Outer Mongolia is in many ways parallel to the situation of Manchukuo. The Russians assisted a certain element in Outer Mongolia in establishing an independent state. The Russians have since recognized the state but no other nation does. Russia and Outer Mongolia exchange ambassadors. China does not admit Outer Mongolian laws. So the State of Manchukuo, being recognized by Japan and not by anybody else is a fairly close parallel.

In Outer Mongolia there has been a severe revolution. The younger Mongols, believing that their hereditary princes had failed to lead them, had failed to support the cause of Mongolia, were ready to depose their princes and create a regime closely modelled on that of Russia. In eastern Mongolia, the part within Manchuria, you have a Mongol population which is strongly conservative and still keeps its own princes and is still very loyal. In southern Mongolia you also have a very conservative population, but in southern inner Mongolia, the part under Chinese control, the Mongols have suffered heavily from invasion, their land being taken away and Chinese colonists put on it.

You have in Mongolia a regional geographical condition; no part is out of touch with the rest of Mongolia, but a three-way frontier is running through it. Yet, the Mongols feel themselves to be a united race. They all speak the Mongol language; they all feel the historical difference between them and China because, perhaps, it is necessary to emphasize the fact that the Mongols are not just a branch of the Chinese. They are a separate race with a separate historical tradition, a different language, a different form of writing and so on. All Mongols feel that Mongolia ought to be united and become a single nation again. But the difference of opinion rests upon whether it should be united by a revolutionary process opposing the princes still left in Chinese Mongolia, or whether it should be accomplished by a conservative counter-revolution, retiring the princes in Outer Mongolia. Whichever way it goes, a civil war among the Mongols to bring unity would not lead to a permanent split among the Mongols themselves because the Mongolian history is a warlike history and the tradition among the Mongols is that the victor in battle has the right of initiative. If one Mongol gives another a good licking there are no hard feelings. The one who is licked says, "You are a better man than I am and I am delighted to follow you henceforth." Then, a civil war based on such certain things as a revolutionary conception of society and a conservative conception of society would not necessarily leave hard feelings among the vanquished portion.

Now, these Mongols realize that they are now living in a day of great and rapidly moving events. Many of them feel that now, if ever, is the chance for the Mongols to save themselves from extermination and create a new nation. The dispute among them is whether it is to be done through reliance on a Russian alliance or dependence on a Japanese alliance, and if the dispute among the Mongols goes to the point of breaking into a tribal war, you may get the Serajevo bomb, the equivalent of the incident in Serbia, that started the European War.

It seems absurd in the civilization in which we pride ourselves that a tribal war among the Mongols, who don't number more than five million people altogether, might precipitate a general climax in which all the nations of the civilized world might find themselves involved. Nevertheless, I believe that is the true danger of the situation, because the western frontier of Manchuria adjoining Mongolia is the one vulnerable frontier of the new state of Manchukuo. If Russia and Japan were to fight and the war were to be fought on the lines of the former Russo-Japanese war, it would be indecisive. If the Japanese can cut off the southern terminal of the Russian railway or if Russia can cut off the northern end of the Japanese railway, then the basic situation is not changed, but if either side sweeps around through Mongolia, it can outflank the other permanently and decisively and create a really new situation.

Therefore, in the event of a tribal war among the Mongols, Japan could not afford not to support the Mongols under Japanese influences and the Russians certainly could not afford not to support the Mongols associated with Russia.

On the record, I think it is fair to say that Russia would be most unlikely to start a war in the Far East. Every move in Russian policy since 1931 has indicated that the Russians genuinely feel that they have more to lose than to gain by a war and would do everything in their power to avoid it. Several times since 1931 there have been grave indications that at least certain elements in Japan believed that the time was ripe for a war against Russia and there were times when many people thought Japan was just about to jump on Russia, but in the last few months Japanese policy seems to indicate that the

Japanese also would rather not fight Russia at the present time.

I think it is fair to say as between Russia and Japan and just those two nations, neither one really wants to fight the other at the present time, but if that trouble should start in Mongolia, and I think I know enough of the Mongols and have lived among them enough and shared their feelings enough to be justified in saying that a war there is very dangerous. If a tribal war should start there, Japan and Russia might be drawn into it; quite apart from their own feeling, the situation would run away from the nations.

Suppose such a war should start: Where would it end? There is absolutely no predicting it. We don't know how far into China it would spread. We don't know whether Manchukuo would attempt to support China against Japan in order to score back the grudge of the Manchurian business or not. We don't know whether China, as a matter of policy, would prefer to stand out and wait until one or the other was victorious, because it wouldn't damage China to see either one get a good licking, but we can be justified in saying that it would intensify this breaking up of China into such component parts as a Mongolian sphere, a Central Asian sphere, a Thibetan sphere and a very much reduced, a very much amputated Chinese sphere of China.

That makes a situation of international power in Asia, based on groups of land powers, almost or entirely superseding the dominance of sea power which has represented the authority of the West in Asia for the last several generations. I don't want to say that this or the other western nation would find such a situation intolerable and would feel forced to intervene in order to prevent the development of either an overwhelmingly great Japan or an over-swollen Russia. But I do think that the situation in itself would force important shifts of alliances and interests in economic, political and strategic balance among the western nations themselves and it is precisely because what shifts would occur, what new adjustments would be made, can not be accurately predicted, that the situation is dangerous. If each nation knew exactly where it stood, and granting that the feeling, especially among the younger generation all over the world today is that a general war ought to be avoided if humanly possible, I think that the restrained, the reasonable, the balanced element in every nation would warn against war, but where you have something happening so out of sight and so rapidly that the situation may be completely created and reach an advanced stage of development before anybody can take notice of it, or do anything about it, there is no chance of guiding and directing developments into peaceful channels.

Think of our relations with the Asiatic Continent: a sprinkling of little ports along the coast without even telegraph services reaching far into the interior. Not a correspondent in the whole of Mongolia, not a correspondent in Turkestan, not a correspondent in Tibet! Everything that happens there happens behind a screen, and while Downing Street and State Departments are happily pounding their ears on the pillow of peace, the actual development of events in China, behind that screen of ignorance, may have forced the situation that will make war inevitable.

Of course, Manchukuo, itself although only a part of that great war frontier of China of which I have spoken, is an important part. We have a situation there that makes for war. The signs now are hopeful that we may be able to avoid war for a year or two or three or five years but, eventually, there is bound to be war in that sector. The geographical situation of Manchuria makes as much for irreconcilable conflict as the Alsace-Lorraine frontier between Germany and France. As far as ideals of permanent peace are concerned, it is absurd to point to a situation in Manchuria that will be free of war in any given century, or any given half century, for that matter. The pressure now is not even as great as it will be in time because it is only when Russia has fully developed Siberia, the economic possibilities of which have as yet only been touched, that the true need of a warm water port for Russia will be felt, but when Russia is fully developed, if Siberia has not got a port and access to the Pacific Ocean under its own control, then the situation will be as impossible as if you were to make a United States with its present industrial and economic and commercial development, its present need of Pacific trade and with, say, California, Washington and Oregon, controlled by an alien power. Geographically, in terms of railways, of course you can still run a railway to San Francisco, Seattle and so forth and ship your goods out. But how would a nation of the size and power of America feel if that port were in the last resort under the control of an alien nation? It requires a very abounding faith in the sweetness and nobleness of human nature to assume that war could be permanently prevented in such circumstances.

Now, I feel that I may have been destructive in my remarks today. I have shown you something of the dark side of the possibilities of war in the Far East and I haven't said a word about any method for dealing with them. That is because I simply can't. I don't pretend to be a statesman. I don't pretend to understand the working of international negotiations but I do say that unless international compacts, collective agreements and other devices for obviating war take into account the new structure of power in Asia and the swing from sea power to land power, neither the League of Nations nor any substitute for the League of Nations can possibly be effective.

Thank you all for listening to me so patiently. (Applause.)

DISARMAMENT

AN ADDRESS BY MR. PHILIP J. NOEL BAKER

March 27, 1934

MAJOR W. JAMES BAXTER, the President, introduced the speaker.

MAJOR BAXTER:—Gentlemen: Year, by year we see reports of amazing medical discoveries, cures for this, antidotes for that; alleviations that have lifted the burden of suffering from millions of people, but there is one disease which is an ever-recurring menace and which up to now has defied the efforts of the most skilled and devoted humanitarians to overcome. I refer to War. One remedy for this disease is disarmament but tremendous obstacles are preventing the peaceful application of this remedy and yet disarmament is an ideal to which our noblest lives are consecrated, an ideal back of the minds of most thinking men. It is an ideal, also, which has brought into being conference after conference to conciliate, confer and even at times, concede in an effort to reach this world ideal.

That there is a temporary recession in the disarmament efforts, even reaching the stage today where it is a limitation of present armaments, should not dim our hopes, believing as most of us do, that where the desire is earnest enough, the realization can not be far distant.

MR. NOEL-BAKER has rather turned the tables on the majority of the speakers we have at this Club in that he is an offspring of a long line of Canadians. Although born in England, Mr. Baker's ancestry goes back to several generations of Canadians.

Mr. Baker has a distinguished record in the world of international law, diplomacy and international relations. He was a member of the League of Nations special committee during the Peace Conference. From 1924 to 1927, he was Professor of International Relations at London University and served as personal Secretary to Arthur Henderson, President of the Disarmament Conference from 1931 to 1933.

We have, thus the privilege of hearing a recognized authority discuss the pros and cons of one of the most vital and imperative questions of our civilization. It is with great pleasure that I introduce Mr. Noel-Baker.

MR. PHILIP J. NOEL-BAKER:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of The Empire Club: I begin by expressing my gratitude to you for the invitation you have given me to be your guest at this special meeting today. Toronto is a city, if I am rightly instructed, where the sense of the common tie of the British Empire is fresh and strong and vivid; where there is a living realization of the greatness of the destiny which lies before the British people in the Commonwealth by which they are joined.

There was never before in history a time when the British people had so great a part to play in world affairs as they have today. The power of the British Commonwealth is such as no empire, no state and no people has ever wielded in the history of man. The visions of other nations have made of our Commonwealth at this moment the arbiter of the destiny of nations. Geography has placed us in a position where we are the arbiters of Europe, where we have a stake and a very vital stake in the international policies of every continent in the world. History has given us a position which is such that when we are leading in the cause of human progress we can rally behind us forces upon which no other nation can call.

All that makes our part in the present world situation one of supreme importance, but what makes it more important still is that at this time we have a contribution to make to the world which is unique and beyond estimation. For the world needs today precisely the things which the British peoples have won for themselves in the Commonwealth which they have made. The world imperatively requires, as the Chairman has said, that abolition of war, that establishment of law and justice which the British peoples have achieved. It is those things which have made of the British Commonwealth the most wonderful political organism the world has ever known and it is because of my profound conviction that the Commonwealth can bring these things to the world, that only the Commonwealth can do so, that it is the historic destiny of the Commonwealth to do so, because your Empire Club exists to keep alive a sense of the greatness of the Commonwealth and a sense of the responsibility which that greatness bears with it, that I am proud and honoured to be your guest today.

I am particularly happy to have been invited to speak on the subject of Disarmament, for Disarmament at this moment is the key to all these great changes which I have said the world imperatively requires. Disarmament, beyond question, is the greatest topic in world affairs at this moment. I repeat, without fear of contradiction, the greatest topic in world affairs today is disarmament. I am well aware that at this moment many people are in a state of doubt and hesitation. I am well aware that skepticism is rife throughout the world. I picked up a paper in Montreal yesterday morning when I arrived and I found in it some quip by some unknown writer who said that every new disarmament plan seemed to bring a little hope to the manufacturers of armaments. There are some people today who are prepared to go as far as the Directors of Krupps, that great armament firm in Germany who said to a member of the British Disarmament Commission in 1919, that in his belief disarmament was a dream and not even a beautiful dream at that.

And I am well aware and none better, for I have been there, that the situation in Europe is bad and growing worse. Germany is re-arming on the largest scale. France, heavily armed as she was before, is replying to Germany by great increases in the armaments she now maintains. Japan is starting an armament race on the Pacific in aircraft, in tanks and in ships of war which is compelling Russia and the United States to reply in kind. And then, in our own country, where our people especially desire that disarmament shall be brought about, even in Great Britain, in a period of rigid economy, in a period when we have been saving in every direction where it is possible to save upon our public budget, in a period when prices have been falling, our estimates for defence have risen in last year's budget and in this, by no less a sum than eight million pounds. Eight million pounds! And only a week or two ago, 160 Conservative members of Parliament refused to support their Conservative Government because it said it was not possible to give a million pounds to increase the allowance made to the children of our unemployed. Yes, I am well aware that the situation is grave. But I say again, without fear of contradiction, that it is not desperate, that the cause of disarmament is not yet lost, that the disarmament conference has not yet failed. It has been suspended since July last and methods of old diplomacy have been tried instead. But so long as the Conference is still in being, so long as governments are reluctant to take the responsibility for the failure, as they are today, so long as the peoples of the world desire as they do desire that this Conference shall succeed, I say the cause is not yet lost.

I will say more: I will say that the Conference while it was at work did achieve a very considerable measure of success. I remember, at the Peace Conference in 1919, Mr. Chairman, that a very distinguished member of our Foreign Office was able to write official minutes which were accepted as conclusive in which he proved on technical grounds alone, disarmament could never be brought about. "How," he said in these minutes, "can you compare a battalion with a cruiser? How can you measure a tank against aircraft?", and the argument was accepted as proving that disarmament was a dream.

The Conference, in eighteen months of its labours, examined every technical aspect of every problem that disarmament involves. The experts did their best and their worst, and at the end of that eighteen months, every one recognized that when the military experts spoke of technical difficulties, those technical difficulties, as a special delegate put it, were but political objections in uniform. Sir John Simon declared in October last: Every technical problem has been solved and all that remains to be done is that a few political decisions must now be taken.

Mr. Chairman, while no government in the world will take the responsibility for saying that political decisions are impossible there is still hope that the Conference will succeed and I will say more still. I believe that the truth is that the governments, whatever they might like to do, cannot give up disarmament even if they wanted to. They are like the man who has the wolf by the ears; they can't let go for they know that the moment they close the doors on the Disarmament Conference they will be in a position so terrible that the first object of their policy will become how they can open those doors again and restart the Conference which they have abandoned. That is why I hold that there is still hope that in this dark hour the door may not be closed; that is why I still believe, although disarmament may not be secured this year or next, yet sometime soon, this year, next year, the year after or the year after that, the first genuine disarmament conference for the reduction and limitation of all national forces by international agreement will inevitably be made.

And I ask this Club to notice that it is not for unilateral disarmament I am pleading today but for international disarmament, all round disarmament by agreement among the nations of the world.

It is not here, Mr. Chairman, that I have to argue that peace and disarmament are to be desired. It is not in

Canada which, with the United States, has given to the world the most remarkable proof in history that disarmament is a practical policy and one that pays, that I need argue that disarmament is wise and right. It is not in Canada where the great appeal of Sir Arthur Currie is still ringing in your ears, that I need argue that we should avert the next war, if avert it we can.

I assume that every one in this room, like the overwhelming majority of people in Great Britain desires that disarmament shall be brought about and I ask the question: What do we mean when we use the word "Disarmament"? What kind of disarmament can we hope for?

I say at once, I would accept almost any measure of disarmament, as a first instalment, of modest reduction such as that proposed in the last British memorandum, if that is all we can obtain, and limitation at the existing level if such a treaty can be made, though, personally, I doubt it. But I go on to say that any such modest half measure as that can only be a first stage and a first stage which must be swiftly followed by the next.

Stabilization at the existing level is not disarmament in any rational meaning of the word. I know there are people—a considerable number in my own country—who say or rather said, more frequently before the Disarmament Conference began than today, that we are disarmed to the point that we have fully carried out the policy of disarmament, that we have made immense reductions in the armaments we used to maintain and which we require for the safety of our Empire.

I ask you, for one moment, to glance at that contention. We are spending today the same money that we were spending in 1914 when the Great War began. We are spending the same sum of money that we were spending before Armaggedon had commenced. And, remember that 1914 was the culminating climax of a long period of armament conditions.

Mr. Gladstone resigned from office for the last time in

1893. He resigned as a protest against the increase in naval expenditure which his colleagues in that Liberal Government proposed. The total estimate for all defence purposes against which Mr. Gladstone made his last dramatic protest amounted to £33,000,000. Ten years later, in 1903, it had become £44,000,000; and in 1908 it had become £50,000,000; in 1912, £60,000,000; and in 1914, £77,000,000. Two and one third times what it had been only twenty years before when Mr. Gladstone resigned! Competition at a rate we thought was frenzied. Competition — I can remember my father saying it many a time—competition, so severe that many people were asking if war itself would not be better!

And ,today, we are accepting that expenditure as the normal sum which we must spend and are getting for it what? Not the infantry battalions, not the cruisers that we got in pre-war years. We are getting aircraft and poison gas, tanks and heavy artillery, of a kind we did not even dream of. We are getting weapons so immeasurably more destructive that the destruction of the last war will seem like child's play in comparison with the destruction of the next and I say, therefore, that while if you are making comparison with one country or another, you can say if you like that we are disarmed to the edge of risk; I say while you may say that, if you take our nation together with other nations maintaining armaments on a corresponding level with those we maintain, they and we together are not disarmed to the edge of risk, we are armed to the edge of lunacy. Our society is more militarized today than it has ever been and if you take the nature of the weapons, the expenditure we make upon them, the organization of our governments for mobilization for war, the preparation of even industry for expansion in time of war, or any other test you like to take, I declare that our society is today more militarized than it has ever been.

And I say, at this crisis at which we have now arrived, we and the other nations have got to choose: either we are going on with the old anarchy of the pre-war period or we are going to make a reality of the new international system which since 1919 we have endeavoured to create, one or the other. We have reached the point in Europe where we have got to choose. Shams will no longer do. Sham disarmament, a sham League of Nations that exists for some purposes of international cooperation but can not prevent war, shams of that kind will not meet our urgent need. Unless we can make a reality, a real disarmament and a real security through the League, we shall not avert the next war which now looms upon our horizon.

Therefore, I say, we have got to have real disarmament and I ask the question: What will real disarmament mean? Let's agree that we achieve it by stages. Let's agree that the first instalment may be small. Let's agree that it may take five or ten years to reach the purpose we want to fulfill. But what is that purpose? What is the disarmament at which we are aiming?

As the Chairman has said, it was my privilege to spend eighteen months with Mr. Henderson at the Disarmament Conference in Geneva, and I was convinced by my experience there that the essential problem of that Conference from the first day until the last was the problem of reaching an agreement with the German people, the problem of equality with Germany. Do not misunderstand me. I have never thought that equality in itself was a sacred principle. I have always thought that equality could be pushed too far. I remember the story of a man who used to be my colleague in the British House of Commons, Mr. McQuisten of Argyleshire. Mr. McQuisten, at the last general election was very considerably bothered by a lady feminist who followed him to all the meetings, asking about equality between the sexes and at last, as polling day drew near, at one great meeting she thought she would get a final answer, "yes" or "no." She said, "Will the candidate kindly tell the meeting whether he is in favour of full equality in all regards between men and women?" Mr. McQuisten rose quickly to his feet and said, "Yes, Madam, I have always longed to be a mother."

I have always thought that equality could be pushed too far, and I have never thought that we could by a stroke of the pen reduce the armaments of the rest of the world to the level which we made Germany accept in 1919.

But it was also plain from the first day of the Conference until the last day that either we had to let Germany have back the armaments we had forbidden to her or else, by progressive stages, we had to get rid of those armament ourselves. We had a plain choice. Should Germany re-arm, or should we dis-arm? Should she have back the weapons she was not allowed to have or should we get rid of them ourselves? I was convinced that the only real disarmament must consist in getting rid of those weapons which in 1919 we decided that Germany might not have. Why did we not allow Germany to have certain categories of arms when we made the treaties of peace? We declared it in a letter addressed to her Government — because we desired to make it certain that Germany should not renew the aggression of which she had been guilty in 1914, because those weapons which we took away from her were calculated to assist aggression, they were calculated to help attacks against defence and from the first day of the Disarmament Conference onward, there raged a controversy as to what was meant by aggressive weapons. What weapons could be said to assist attacks against defence?

The Conference, the experts spent months discussing and they used oceans of ink in writing memoranda on the subject of the question whether there could be defined as aggressive certain categories of weapons or not.

I read a speech by an Admiral in England the other day in which he said that discussion was all nonsense, that of course you couldn't say that one weapon was aggressive and another wasn't; it all depended on what use you made of it. An umbrella might be a very aggressive weapon if it were used to poke out your neighbour's eye, but highly defensive if used to keep off the rain. And I am prepared to admit, from an expert's point of view, that the difference between a weapon, offensive and defensive, is the difference between a bottle half empty and a bottle which is half full. If you have been, as I have been on too many occasions, at the wrong end of a four-inch gun, you may find that it can be extremely offensive and, of course, it is not a question of morality at all. It is not more terrible to be poisoned by gas than to be smashed to smithereens by a shell and if you had seen, as I have seen, a single shell that killed 60 people and mutilated 100 more, you would not talk about morality as between one weapon and another.

But there is a practical sense in which the Disarmament Conference was right to decide that some weapons should be classified as aggressive and it is this: Certain weapons are in effect more efficacious than others in breaking down the defences which nations are able to create. If you look at the national defence systems which most nations today maintain, some weapons are likely to break down those defences and will be more efficacious than others in achieving that result. Therefore, I believe Sir John Simon was right to secure a resolution from the Disarmament Conference as he did in April, 1932, to the effect that offensive weapons should either be abolished or internationalized by general conference, and I think he was right to say that while we might not be able to define an offensive weapon, nevertheless you know it when you see it. It is like the man who said that he could not define an elephant but he knew one when he met one in the street. I think that Sir John Simon was right to include as he did in the speech in which he proposed the resolution that the weapons which should be regarded as aggressive and, therefore, abolished by international agreement were the ones forbidden to Germany in 1918. And no one has been able to show, neither the experts, the Disarmament Conference nor anyone else, that those weapons were not aggressive in the sense in which I have just used the word.

It has been shown that the aircraft carriers, the submarines, the tanks and the heavy artillery and, above all, the aircraft, used on land and above the sea, are efficacious against national defences, are designed to break down the national systems of defence which nations now maintain and, therefore, I am convinced that the policy which we should pursue is to secure the abolition of those weapons and that only when we have secured it can we say that disarmament has been brought about. I am convinced that until we can get rid of tanks and heavy artillery we shall not be certain that some aggressor will not commit a sudden overwhelming surprise attack by land. Until we get rid of air forces we shall not be certain that some aggressor will not lay waste over night, the cities of the state which he has fixed as the victim of his aggression, and I ask this Club to remember that it is only a little more than a year since Mr. Baldwin, speaking in the House of Commons, gave a description of the next air war, so terrible that when he sat down in his place, the whole House of Commons remained immobile for a space of two minutes, a thing that had never happened in the history of British Parliament before.

Mr. Baldwin showed in that speech that if the next war comes aircraft will be used for the bombardment of great cities. He showed that against that danger there is no conceivable defence except the threat of reprisal of bombardment against the cities of the enemy state and the conclusions which he there presented are being confirmed every day by the leading air experts of our own and other countries who declare that nothing can be done by way of an aerial defence which will enable one power to repel an air invasion carried out by an enemy state against the great centres of its population.

And I say that it is not tolerable that our civilization should depend upon the balance of opposing threats like that. It is not tolerable that Paris and Berlin and London should rest upon a balance of air forces, each nation only refraining from bombarding the capital of the other because it is afraid its own capital will be bombarded.

With armament competition of the kind we had before 1914 it would be absolutely certain that sooner or later one nation or another would make the sudden aggressive attack, would try to seize the moment when it could get a quick offensive before the defence was ready and the whole terrible holocaust would be let loose. And in that situation we have to consider how this disarmament can be brought about. It means drastic reductions; it means a great change in the policies which our governments will pursue; and nothing is more certain than that we shall not get that change unless we are prepared to make, as I said, a reality of the League of Nations, unless we are prepared to pay the price. Paying the price today means something very plain and clear. It means that we must make of the League of Nations an instrument that can stop war, an instrument that can prevent aggression, an instrument that will bring aggression to an end if it be begun.

How can that be done? Well, Europe has been discussing a long programme of preventives, preventives which act against the state which violates the Disarmament Conference, in order to prevent it from continuing its preparations for war even before its warlike efforts have begun, the organization of it being national sanction of Article 16, to which we are committed and which, since it is an international treaty obligation, we, as British people, intend to observe; the acceptance of some definition of aggression, for example, the definition of President Roosevelt, that the aggressor is the country which invades the territory of a neighbour state; and, perhaps, also, broader measures even than that.

Let us recognize that aircraft is a new and revolutionary invention, that the dangers it has created are very real. Let us recognize that wild and revolutionary measures may be needed to get rid of those dangers and

Europe is discussing the air problem in terms of the international situation, of commercial aviation and the creation of an international air police—internationalization of civil aviation; that is to say, the creation of aircraft for the international clearing of cargoes. If it can work for clearing cars on the railways, why not for aircraft as well? And as international police organized but under the command of, working at the orders of, the Council of the League of Nations. Why not? The French Government is able to organize a Foreign Legion which keeps peace in French colonies throughout the world and I read an article not long ago by a British officer who declared that in that Foreign Legion he had served in the battalion in which among the non-commissioned officers were an Englishman, an Italian, a Chinese, a Zulu and an Eskimo, while the Sergeant-Major was a Persian and he said there was less quarrelling in that Foreign Legion, less bullying by the non-commissioned officers, than in any British regiment of which he had ever known. He said that the loyalty of that Legion to the French Government which employed it was obsolute and to the death and he ended by saying that if the League of Nations desired to create an international force, he was absolutely convinced that it could quite easily do so.

Bold and revolutionary measures, Mr. Chairman, perhaps, but necessary at the point at which we stand today. We are threatened by terrible dangers. We must do something new to prevent them and to stop the war that looms upon the horizon. These things we can do and I am very certain that if the governments would propose them they would find that the peoples would follow. I am very certain if our British Commonwealth could take the lead in laying such a program as this before the peoples of the world that the peoples would rally behind it in such a way that no government would be able to reject it and why should we not?

What does making a reality of the League of Nations mean? It means bringing into international affairs, the democracy, the justice for weak and strong alike, the rules of law which are the distinctive contribution of the British people to the civilization of mankind. That is why I say it is our historic destiny to bring to the peoples these great things which we have achieved for ourselves and if they mean sacrifices, I am certain that the peoples are ready to make them. There is nothing more pernicious in proposals for peace than to pretend that peace can be got for nothing. There may be risks in the policy of peace and we must weigh them against the risks of war. Sacrifices may be required. We must ask the people to make them if that be so, but I am certain we shall find that the people will respond.

Why do wars survive in an age when every day shows more clearly that it is the very sum of human folly? Not because it is cruel, not because it is useless. War survives because those who make war, the governments, have appealed to their nations to make the supreme sacrifice of all they hold dear in a cause which they all believe to be far greater than anything in their individual lives. That is true of every nation in the world.

Do you remember, Mr. Chairman, the story of the Chinese students? A thousand Chinese boys and girls, between fifteen and twenty years of age, who set off last year to march from Shanghai to Manchuria to combat the Japanese, marching a thousand miles in military column, carrying a coffin at their head for the first among them who should fall?

You can not get peace for nothing. You can only get it when our governments are prepared to ask of the people the same devotion and the same sacrifices for the cause of peace that have never hesitated to ask for the cause of war. When they do that, disarmament and peace will be secure. (Applause.)

FRONTIERS OF HOPE AND DESPAIR

AN ADDRESS BY PIERRE VAN PAASSEN

March 29, 1934

The speaker was introduced by MAJOR W. JAMES BAXTER, the President.

MAJOR BAXTER: The Empire Club is indebted to the Toronto Daily Star for the presence here today of Mr. Pierre Van Paassen, world famous European correspondent, as Guest Speaker.

I extend on your behalf a welcome to a glamorous speaker in journalism, a writer who seems to have a perpetual monopoly on the front page of one of the world's leading daily newspapers. Wherever there is war, revolution, pestilence or persecution, Mr. Van Paassen seems to be in the thick of it and then he is out of it long enough to send his despatches, translating the horror, drama or tragedy into fascinating news, and usually, I may add, with a few words on behalf of the under-dog. (Applause.)

If you look at Mr. Van Paassen very closely you will notice that he has a well-developed bump of curiosity. This bump, if not discernible to the audience has been observed elsewhere. Mr. Van Paassen, not the bump, has been shot at in Jerusalem; he has been beaten; he has been arrested and jailed in Munich; and he has been run out of an American town by the now almost forgotten Klu Klux Klan. All these things merely prove that our Guest Speaker today "can take it." By some strange chance he has won out of the associations of cuts, abuse and indignities, some of the most entrancing and moving stories in modern journalism. You have all read a lot about Mr. Van Paassen's adventures but I would like to add a tribute to another and higher characteristic—his humanitarian outlook. In article after article he has demonstrated his sympathy and compassion for the oppressed.

It is with great pleasure that I introduce Mr. Pierre van Paassen.

MR. PIERRE VAN PAASSEN: Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen: It is almost ten years ago since I left Toronto to start on that tour, going through the face of the earth like our friend, Satan, of yore, and in quoting his words, I want to show you the universal interest of newspaper men, and to say that I have an analagous acquaintance with that man of the nether regions if I have no other connection.

The years that have gone by have seen in Europe and the world a tremendous transformation and if I am to make some remarks here on the subject of "Frontiers of Hope and Despair," I would like to make it clear that I do not merely mean physical frontiers, not merely geographical frontiers because geographical frontiers have a tendency of changing almost over night, of changing almost in the twinkling of an eye from a frontier of despair to one of hope.

In this connection I recall that I had an experience after my arrival in Palestine in 1929 when I went on a tour of Abyssinia and the Soudan. There the Abyssinians had been raiding villages across the border in the Soudan and had been carrying off the population and the inhabitants in these raids and had been transferring them across the Red Sea into Arabia, Persia and other lands and selling the people as slaves. A British officer, a very small, tiny little man was all alone, the only white man in command of seventy black Nubian soldiers. He had been sent out to try and check the slave trade in Abyssinia. I had followed him around for about a month and finally caught up with him and carried the news to him that he had been promoted from Captain to Major a year before. The news had been travelling around, following him for a year. There I found him in the midst of the blacks, one white man, not able to understand a single word of Nubian, trying to rid the country of the slave raiders. I followed him along. He was largely occupied in carrying personal baggage and a portabe bath. We caught up with the last part of the slave raiders. Two thousand in number had just captured a village of 500 people, men, women and children, ready to ship across the Red Sea. The British officer instead of challenging them—he hadn't the troops to challenge raiders, two thousand strong—sent over an envoy to the chief of the raiders to tell him to come and call on him under one of the maple trees. He got the best uniform out of his trunk and the man duly came to call on him. He said, "Now, look here, this business of slave raiding, you know, has got to stop around here and you had better hand over the people you captured last month without any delay." To my immense suprise, the slaves were handed over without a shot being fired and the people were restored to their villages and their homes.

I asked the officer by what audacity, by what right, by what authority he managed to impose his will on a hostile tribe, armed to the teeth. He said, "You see, it is quite possible to wipe me out, but they know there will be another British officer along after me. He may not have seventy black men; he may have seventy white men. If they are wiped out in turn, another British officer will come and perhaps will not have seventy men but seven hundred and then they know that a British fleet may cross the Sahara Desert to settle things." So you see the transformation of a frontier of despair into a frontier of hope within a month's time.

It doesn't come so easily in other parts of the world. There are at the present time some frontiers of hope but there are more frontiers of despair. On my last trip across the European Continent, coming from Constantinople to Paris on my way home by merely looking out of the window the impression was that war was going on already. Troops were moving in all directions, artillery right along the roads, tanks, airplanes, search lights, and troop kitchens being put up everywhere as if a front existed already somewhere in Europe and by contrast with the intense militarization of the European Continent, there is the flagrant contribution of massed destitution.

A few minutes out of Sofia, the capital of Bulgaria, the train came to a halt and the dining car carriage was being assaulted, actually being assaulted by a crowd of about five or six hundred naked and ragged children who all pointed to their mouths to indicate they were hungry. One of the Bulgarian officers on board—they even have to guard the trains for fear they are attacked by hungry hordes of people—noticed that the passengers had begun to throw bread to the hungry children and he came up and said in French, "Cela ne vaut pas la peine!" It's not worth the trouble. They are going to die anyhow.

You see the wealth of the people is being wasted in this insanity of militarism. It is the same thing everywhere.

Crossing from Bulgaria to Yugoslavia there are on each train four or five Generals and at least ten Colonels, decorated in gold and silver, clanking spurs and sabers on the platforms and in the streets and so on down the long line.

Since 1933 something has happened in Europe which is endangering the peace of the Continent. A new phenomenon has arisen and it is not sufficient to say that the Germans have been disappointed in the past and that they have abandoned seeking their way out of stagnation by abandoning Democracy. It is not sufficient to say that the Germans are the people who require an authoritative regime, who must be ruled by a strong hand, who have a longing for militarism. It is nothing of the sort. The German people are just as pacific and peacefully inclined as we are, but the German people, having been insulted by the Treaty of Versailles are a people who have been humiliated and the liberals, especially in Germany, have been trying from Versailles onward to come to an understanding with the rest of the world. Instead of supporting the liberals in Germany, instead of upholding their hand, the vindictive spirit, the war psychosis which was prolonged after the War in countries like France, especially, were such that the liberals in Germany could make no headway and finally, were repudiated by their own people and a new orientation in another direction was begun and now culminates in the disaster of the Hitler regime.

I call it a disaster not only for the German people and not only because of the horrible things that have transpired there, the attacks on helpless minorities, for the attacks upon the fine systems of labour and pensions and social insurance, not only for that reason but because now installed in the centre of Europe is a state which is potentially the strongest state in Europe there has been installed a government which has torn away, which has repudiated international collaboration, a government which no longer wants to hear about sitting around the general table and discussing the affairs of humanity in common.

There is a Germany in the center of Europe which is going to place its faith and its destiny in the number of tanks and aeroplanes and supplies of poison gas which the state possesses. There lies the disaster. When you hear men like Von Papen say that the destiny of an average real German is to die on the battle field and that he hates to die in bed, this means that they hold up as an ideal, death on the battle field and the trouble is that in death on the battle field, they can't die alone. They don't go there to commit suicide. They want others there and then their lives are in danger.

Now, because there is really nothing accidental in this world—it can be said that Hitler is a bolt from the blue or that he is an optic illusion, or that we weren't prepared for anything of the sort, but everything has a cause in this world—Hitler came about as the result, in my estimation and I say this not just superficially but after diligent enquiry and sometimes with a great deal of trepidation before making it public altogether, I say that Hitler is there as the result of an international conspiracy, an international conspiracy. We are sometimes reproved for being internationally minded, for looking beyond our frontiers, for considering the whole human race as a human brotherhood. But here is an international conspiracy which has succeeded in turning one country of the world into a martial camp and this conspiracy must be laid to the international munition manufacturers. These men have tried ever since the War stopped in 1918, by all means in their power to restore in Europe in some country or other, nationalist chauvinism. So long as nationalism is making headway, so long as people are thinking in terms of world brotherhood, so long as movements are going on, re-establishing world peace and placing it on a permanent basis, so long as the munition manufacturers had no profits, but when they succeeded by financing the Hitler movement, not only German but international financiers, and when they succeeded in installing one government there which would no longer participate in international collaborations, they had won the day.

You can see what is going on now because Germany has succeeded in turning the whole European Continent into a vast armed camp and not only that, there is a vague sense of dread all over the Continent. The peoples are living again in a suspense and as I said before, in contrast with the suspense of war, there is all this deepening economic depression, as a result of the preparations for war.

I passed through provinces in Poland where not a lamp has burned in any home for the last two years. In Budapest, one of the most beautiful cities in Europe, people are living in holes in the ground. In Roumania, all orphanages, all schools, all institutions have been closed up. All the money is going into war preparations. And you see now the prospect that is being held out to France and to Poland that peace and prosperity and well being may be brought back by war.

As Germany, of course, built a stupendous industrial apparatus after the war, largely through the loans from America for the payment of reparations. This economic apparatus has extended rapidly and the task of Hitler and his associates is to put the machinery in motion again, for unless they can produce something else than the torture of their opponents, attacks on the Jews and torchlight parades, the people are not going to be satisfied with that. They must find work. That is the great task of the Nazi regime over there. This task is impossible because no markets are left for German industry. In spite of what is being said, in spite of the figures that are being published, showing that in Germany unemployment is going down, it is going up. Destitution in Germany is mounting day by day and last month, for the first time in history, the imports exceeded the exports by thirty billion marks. Taxes are ruinously high.

There is a dissatisfaction all over the line, not only in the political circles or what remains of them but even in the churches there is a great anxiety, a great fear, for they see that in order to install this brand of xenophobia, this nationalist chauvinism in Germany, Hitler is knocking down and destroying every movement and every idealogy which has for its basis an international or universal outlook.

At first he attacked the Jews because the Jews have been the bearer of an international ideal, an ideal of peace for the last two thousand years. They are a people without arms. If any one knows the futility and the insanity of fratricide, it is the Jews because they have on all frontiers and in all lines. They, more than any others, have known the meaning of the brotherhood of man. And they attacked all political organizations which had an international basis. And, now, the Catholic Church is next in turn, and the Protestant Church is going to come, because, after all, these religious organizations, also, are based upon an international outlook. It is not for nothing, as I said the other night, that the Catholic Bishop of Paris has included a prayer for the Jews in the liturgy of the Church, because the Catholic Church knows that the attack on the Jews is a prelude of an attack upon the catholicity, upon the universality of the Church.

And so you see, they are installing this thing in Germany to the detriment of the whole world. The danger of war is creeping nearer all the time. While the Hitlerites have a definite plan in their minds and are trying to win the other powers to an agreement and allow Germany to re-arm there are many other eventualities in Europe that may materialize within the interval before the plan materializes.

Look at Austria. A little land, a head without a body, really; a small land now assuming the significance of a major power. In Austria, not only Mussolini is interested but Hitler is interested and, also, France. Mussolini would like to see Austria allied to Hungary and the monarch restored there because Mussolini is looking for allies just as much as France is. Mussolini wants a system of alliances and France has a system of its own. He has strengthened Italy by penetrating the Balkans, now having Bulgaria and Roumania on his side. He wants to restore the monarchy and unite Austria and Hungary under the Hapsburgs. Germany wants to annex Austria and join it to the Reich.

In France there is, in peace time, a General, a Marshal in the Cabinet, an event of greatest significance because they do not do that unless they look with apprehension at the future. In France there is a group, especially representing the general staff who favour a principle of war against Germany, a war to destroy Germany, to break her in two before she can get strong enough to impose her will on the Continent and these men propose, and the chief exponent of the ideal is General Weygand, to drive a French army across France into Germany and link with it the army of Czechoslovakia, and divide Germany and link Austria with Bavaria linking the Catholic part of Germany together and have an independent government in the north, to bring back the situation which existed prior to 1871 before Bismarck welded the German Empire together. Of course, to the Czechoslovakians and the Jugoslavians, the restoration of the monarch in Austria is immediately an agreement to go to war, because Austria, if the monarch is restored there, would inevitably begin to seek to regain her old provinces which were taken away after the War and these old provinces are now republics or largely incorporated in the republics of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. If anyone goes into Austria, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia are ready to march in immediately.

Along the small end of Austria, four or five of the greater powers are looking on, watching every move being made, fearful and suspicious of each other. That is the result of the implanting of this xenophobia nationalism in Germany. It is a situation that has come about in a year's time, after the liberals in every land and for years since the War have been trying to bring about a larger spirit of international co-operation and we have been trying to break down the war psychosis and to tell people that to go to war to settle disputes by war and to settle economic differences by war is nothing but insanity. All the work is undone in one blow; in a few week's time; the whole thing is destroyed.

You see the way they did in Germany showed a most clever manipulation of human psychology, because instead of starting out by pointing to the powers which were keeping Germany enslaved, the emphasis was placed on the fact that they were looking for an enemy in the interior of Germany. You see, they had to have a wedge. The attack on the Jews was the thin edge of the wedge for larger and bigger hatreds to come. There was some one on whom to unload all this sense of humiliation and sorrow of the past. Men, always, are looking for a victim. Men seldom want to face the realities and accept the consequences of their own evil deeds. But, especially in days of upheaval and of economic depression, then man begins to look for a tangible, a living victim on which to unload all this sense of sorrow and shame. And, upon more than one occasion in the course of history the victim has been the people of Israel. Are they bad people? We have investigated in all ways—are they a bad people? Are they against the course of civilization? There are no bad peoples. The brotherhood of man is not a mere sentimental expression; it is a biological fact. But they were selected for the attack because they represented to the German people the only people that was still alien. Ever it is upon the alien, the stranger, that these attacks first are launched. But, as I say, it was for the simple purpose of mobilizing the spirit of the German people for the larger hatreds to come, for immediately after they crushed the Jews out of existence over there, in spite of the fact that the Jews have been collaborators in the upbuilding of Germany culture, in spite of the fact that as loyal citizens, they have given the lives of 25,000 of their own for Germany, in spite of the fact that they have endowed colleges, that they have built universities, and in spite of the fact that they have given more individual scientists to Germany than any other group, in spite of all these, when the time came they were swept away as so much dirt in a moment of economic depression. Accentuation of the economic depression for a purpose, and the purpose is now becoming clear to us.

We have been accused on many occasions of exaggerating on the subject of German preparedness, of German militarisation. Day by day, the papers are carrying the news of monies being set aside by the German government for new armaments, for new equipment for the air forces, something they lacked hitherto, and the danger is coming closer all the time. I don't see how, in the present course of events, if it keeps on as it is going, I don't see how war can be prevented when people are being whipped up to a frenzy of hatred, when citizens are being told, instead of that the man across the border is just as fine a human being as he is, that they are enemies, plotting against their territory and so forth. How can war be prevented unless forces of humanity have the courage and vision to stand up and say that this thing shall not go further. (Applause.)

You see the danger is that we, ourselves, in other lands become contaminated with that war spirit. The wedge is there again, the same wedge. Referring to America now, fortunately there is an upswing in the economic situation there, but if there were by some fatality to be a failure of the New Deal there, there are many organizations ready to unload the evil consequences of the failure upon racial minorities, instead of facing the thing squarely and saying, "Our system at the present moment is not functioning as it should or it is a failure"; instead of doing that they try to unload, these organizations which are growing up there now, try to steer people off on a side tangent, upon a false trail, and in this way this hatred of the foreigner, the alien comes in. The test of the civilization of any people is the way they treat a foreigner, as a foreigner myself, coming as a young man to Canada, I have nothing but praise for the way I was received in Canada. But you see, others are not so fortunate; they do not see this ideal.

As this danger is approaching, this danger of war, we are looking around to see how it possibly can be avoided because you know, the next war is not going to be just a contest between two armies. It is going to be an attempt to destroy the civilian population. The armies at the front may even remain intact. Aeroplanes are going to fly across the borders and are going to destroy the capitals of Europe. In the house where I live in Paris, we are having gas drill twice a week; women and children must be taken to drill at a certain moment and when the whistle is blown, we must go down. And gas masks are for sale on bargain days at the department stores.

We want to try to avoid the thing. We are not fighting Hitlerism because of the ideals he seeks to spread but because he is endangering the whole of humanity, because if a war comes at the present moment, it may well be that European civilization is wiped out.

How are we going to prevent it? You see, the fact that civilians are going to be involved in the next war brings about an entirely new state of affairs. It is no longer the business of diplomats and soldiers, alone. The next war is the business of civilians. That is why we, as civilians, have to take an active part in trying to prevent it. We have in each country forward-looking men and women. They will have to stand together and support the organizations of peace, stand together and try to bar the road to this mounting tide of ferocity and barbarism.

I believe that we are at one of the cross currents of history. I believe that the destiny of mankind at the present moment is hanging in the balance and hanging helplessly in the balance, unless the forces of humanity get together and forget, for the moment, their small and insignificant differences; stand together to bar the way to great disaster.

You see Hitler—of course, I understand he is being pictured at the moment as a bar to Oriental barbarism, meaning to aesthetic savagery—and you are told that he is stemming the tide of Socialism and Communism in Germany. I assure you that the very opposite is true. Hitler is showing the working classes at the present moment that nothing is to be hoped for from him. I do not believe that Communism was possible in Germany before the Hitlerite power came into being but I know that the next revolution in Germany will come from that side. Instead of barring the way, he is opening the road to it because the oppression in Germany is so intense that man will not ultimately abide by it.

But our main consideration on the North American

Continent is this: Instead of Democracy giving in everywhere and being defeated everywhere and being overwhelmed by the rising tide of militant chauvinism, Democracy must take a stand, instead of believing to the last moment in legalities and waking up some morning with the soldiers of the Nazis or some other organization under our noses, liberals should take a stand and say, "We also will impose our authority. We are not going to have the human race plunged in a blood bath and we are not going to permit our people to be split up and divided into groups and have races divided by racial hatreds and passions of that sort. (Applause.)

You see, if you look at the general course of world history, you can see from H. G. Wells' "Outline of History" and Mr. Van Loon's "Story of Mankind", the purpose of man on earth. You see the slow evolution, the slow upward cimb of man out of darkness toward the light. The science of civilization is that man is to get rid of the hurry instinct and gradually move from family to nation and out of this hurry era into a noble state of some sort. In books of that sort, you can feel the impulse like the theme in a symphony. Sometimes there is a chaotic medley of sound and sometimes harsh sounds, but ultimately in the medley there is a blending of forces and then we hear the real music. So, in humanity, there is gradually an upward climb. Man, at first, just a member of the herd, perhaps, just a drop of water in the ocean but he has been growing upward, trying to express himself, do his own deeds and trying to exalt his soul and thereby prove his kinship with the Divine.

Now, there is a movement on this earth that seeks to reverse the process of history and plunge back into the Middle Ages, and to this process we want to say, "Halt". (Applause.) I want to make an appeal to you. When we Canadians are travelling abroad, we are sometimes told that Canada plays no role in international affairs I would like to say that the day is coming when Canada will play a role in international affairs. I would like to say the day is coming when Canada will take a lead in advocating world peace. (Applause.) Then, if you are internationally minded you can be a great force. I want to see my country great in the things of the spirit. One of the first things we can do if we are still a Democracy, if our Members of Parliament still represent the people, we should demand if ever the calamity comes so close to us, if we are called to go and fight, we should demand from this moment onward that there shall be a consultation of the Canadian people before we are plunged into a blood bath. (Applause, Prolonged.)

OUT OF THE WOODS

AN ADDRESS BY THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF ONTARIO, HIS HONOUR, LIEUT.-COLONEL THE HONOURABLE HERBERT A. BRUCE, R.A.M.C., M.D., F.R.C.S.

April 12, 1934

The Annual Meeting of The Empire Club of Canada was held on Thursday, April 12, 1934, with Major W. James Baxter, M.C., President of the Empire Club, in the Chair. The Election of officers was held before the Guest Speaker of the day was introduced by Major Baxter.

It was moved by Mr. J. P. Pratt and seconded by Mr. H. Eayrs, that the Report for the year 1933-34 be adopted. Carried.

It was moved by Lieut.-Colonel Geo. A. Drew, K.C., and seconded by Mr. Stapells, that the following Officers be elected for the ensuing year:

President: Mr. Dana Porter
First Vice-Pres.: Mr. Main Johnston
Second Vice-Pres.: Colonel G. G. Blackstock
Third Vice-Pres.: Major Gordon Balfour
Honorary Treas. and Archivist: Colonel B. O. Hooper
Immediate Past President: Major W. James Baxter
Past Presidents: Mr. W. Brooks, Dr. R. N. Burns, Colonel A. E. Kirkpatrick.
Executive Council: Mr. James Armstrong, Mr. Harry C. Bourlier, Mr. J. H. Brace, Mr. H. D. Burns, Mr. R. H. Cardy, Mr. George D. Davis, Mr. F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, Mr. George C. Gale, Mr. R. M. Harcourt, Mr. W. M. Hargraft, Mr. Beverley Mat-

thews, Mr. B. K. Sandwell, Mr. J. D. Spence, Mr. J. R. Pratt, Mr. E. J. Thompson, Mr. Malcolm W. Wallace, Mr. Howard Webster.

There were no further nominations from the floor and the motion was declared Carried. (With applause.)

MAJOR W. JAMES BAXTER: This very distinguished audience is gazing upon a most distinguished head table today. The members of the Empire Club extend a hearty welcome to the Honourable W. H. Price and the Honourable Charles McCrae, representing the Province of Ontario, and to His Worship, Mayor Stewart and Controllers McBride and Simpson, representing the City of Toronto. The other gentlemen are the Past-Presidents of The Empire Club, it being the usual procedure to have them at the head table on the day of the Annual Meeting.

We are honoured in having as our Guest Speaker today a very highly esteemed personality in the life of our Province. Colonel Bruce has left in the wake of his public career a record of attainments that have brought honour to himself and Canada. During his tenure of office as Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario he has turned that post from the status of a sinecure, as it is alleged to be by some political minds, into a powerful agent for furthering the cause of humanity. His leadership in welfare movements is too well known for me to do other than pay this passing tribute.

What His Honour is going to speak about today, I haven't the remotest idea. We will soon discover what is meant by Col. Bruce's title, "Out of the Woods." Whatever it is, we can be assured that his address will be along his usual brilliant lines and that the frank and fearless personality we have come to respect will be reflected in his words and thoughts. I have the honour to present His Honour, the Lieutenant Governor of Ontario, Colonel the Honourable Herbert A. Bruce.

HIS HONOUR, COLONEL THE HONOURABLE HERBERT A. BRUCE: Mr. Chairman, Your Worship, Colonel

Price, Mr. McCrae, Distinguished Guests at the Head Table, Gentlemen: There is no happier moment in the life of a surgeon than when he can say to his patient, "Now, you're out of the woods." The patient, of course, shares the pleasure. One has only to look at him to see that.

Now, this year, Toronto is celebrating its CENT-enary, its Cent-EE-nary, and its Cent-ENN-ial. There may be other celebrations also in progress of which I haven't yet heard, but, sooner or later, the fact emerges that Toronto is exactly one hundred years old. And since, in a very literal sense, Toronto has actually *come out of the woods*—the woods that for centuries bordered the lake—I think it will be interesting to pay a hurried visit to the past and see how it all happened.

Where Baby Point now stands on the east bank of the Humber there used to be an Indian village named Teieiagon in the middle of a forest. Somebody called Joliet marked it with a pin point on a map he made in 1673. Fifty years later, French traders came and went. Then they became tired of coming and going, and decided to stay. They built Fort Rouille. It had four guns, one officer, five soldiers, two sergeants and a storekeeper. For five years all went well. Business was good. Then in 1759 the English turned up. The depression had begun. So the French burnt their fort, scampered off through the forest and left the English to do what they could with the charred ruins.

For thirty years one might say that X marked the spot. Nobody wanted ruins. But in 1787 the British Government's representatives spoke to the Indians about the land stretching northward from the ruins. Lord Dorchester the Governor-General, sent surveyors to look over the land. It was good land. The British and Indians had a pow-wow or palaver about it at Carrying Place on the Bay of Quinte. They talked and talked—but it ended in talk. Then another thirty years or so passed and at last in 1805, on the Credit River, the Indians agreed to sell to the British 250,808 acres—that included York, Etobicoke, Vaughan and King Townships —for £1,700 sterling in cash and goods. The value of land has gone up since then and the value of money gone down. For all that, I think you will agree that it was a bargain day in real estate.

Meanwhile many things have been happening. Here and there little townships are springing up. General Simcoe is Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Upper Canada. Niagara (or Newark) is the first capital of the province. But just by Niagara is Fort Niagara in the U.S.A. and it is about to be garrisoned by American troops. Simcoe wants to move immediately and make London the new capital. But Lord Dorchester says, "No"! There were already some people—a few settlers —in Toronto. Why not make Toronto the capital? So, willy-nilly, Simcoe came to Toronto with seven officers and camped in tents when the soldiers had cleared away the trees. A few weeks later Toronto was called York by everybody but the inhabitants. Simcoe renamed it "York," after the Duke of York—and Muddy York was born in the marsh, or, if you will, the woods.

And now things begin to move. The Island was still a peninsula. The soldiers began building military buildings and roads. Castle Frank was built—a combined summer residence and Government House for the Simcoes just beyond the northern boundary of St. James' cemetery—a frame building overlooking the Don Valley. The Simcoes loved it. Mrs. Simcoe cried all day when they sailed away from York on the Onondaga, but after they left it, it wasn't much used. In fact, five years before Toronto became a city, a fisherman lit a fire in it, went away and forgot the fire—and when he came back what was left wasn't worth remembering.

Now, York—no longer Toronto (except to the inhabitants)—was, of course, a military establishment. Two hundred Queen's Rangers did almost all the work. I imagine it was thirsty work. At all events, the

Lieutenant Governor, General Simcoe, signed a warrant authorizing the Commissioner of Stores, Mr. McGill, "to supply from time to time from Government stores such quantities of rum as may be required to be given to the men employed on the wharf and canal at York." And to this day the question, "How *much* rum did they require?" is as unanswerable as Pilate's famous query, "What is truth?"

However, the York Rangers under General Simcoe did a great deal of valuable work. Yonge Street was opened to Lake Simcoe. They began clearing the highway through the bush in 1804, and in two years the work was completed. Before his term of office expired, by the way, Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe started a newspaper and an annual agricultural show. And the population of Upper Canada rose from 12,000 to 35,000.

And what about York itself? What sort of place was it to live in? Well, at that time it was quite unhealthy. Mosquitoes were a pest and brought intermittent fevers. At no time at the beginning of the last century did the little struggling town extend more than a few hundred feet north of the shore. King and Yonge was not even a cross road, and Church Street was a long, long way from the business district. In 1800 they had a post office, and even before that, a newspaper. It was called "The Upper Canada Gazette or American Oracle." The name "Oracle," of course, sufficiently indicates that it was the official Government publication. And as for the Post Office, already in 1801 the York Postmaster, Mr. Willcocks, had resigned because "his reasonable charges for the rent of an office, stationery, fire, candles and a servant to attend had been disputed." That was most unreasonable probably, but the troubles of officialdom had already started. And these weren't by any means the only troubles. Listen, for instance, to this description of York by a traveller in 1798: "A dreary dismal place," he says, "not even possessing the characteristics of a village. There is no church, school-house nor, in fact, any of the ordinary signs of civilization. There is no inn," he goes on, "and those travellers who have no friends to go to, pitch a tent."—A shameful state of affairs. But true enough. And sitting here in this great hotel you will appreciate the significance of a letter written by Acting Governor Russell from Niagara to an official in York just before the Legislature met: "Please apprise the inhabitants of the town that twenty-five gentlemen will want board and lodgings."

As a matter of fact, of course, York was still in the wilds. They say that Bay Street was once called Bear Street because Mr. Justice Boulton's horses attacked a bear in a field near by. Yes—the horses attacked the bear! 134 years ago packs of wolves came into the town. One man lost 17 sheep. And then 2 bears came to town and ran off with 2 pigs in their arms, sprinting away into the woods on their hind legs, while nine years later, Lt. Fawcett of the 100th Regiment killed a bear in George St., by hitting it on the head with his sword.

Exciting days. But I want to hurry on to the days one hundred years ago when Toronto came into being and was incorporated as a city. We'll stop just long enough to see how the population grew. In 1803 there were 456 people in York, and they collected £62 in taxes. In 1812 there were 700. That was the year of the American War. In 1813 tthe Americans occupied the town twice and burned practically all the public buildings. But the population went on growing. In 1817 it was 1,200 and there were actually *three brick edifices* in the town. And when the population was no less than 1,356 and everything appeared to be going swimmingly, a Mr. Talbot visited York, looked around him and made these comments: "The situation of the town is very unhealthy, for it stands on a piece of low marshy ground. He who first fixed upon this spot as the site of the capital of Upper Canada, whatever predilection he may have had for the roaring of frogs, or the effluvia arising from stagnating water and putrid vegetables, can certainly have had no great regard for preserving the lives of His Majesty's subjects." The situation of York was, it would seem, not only pernicious but actually somewhat seditious as well—a situation which the shocked gentleman viewed with alarm. But time and tide wait for no man, and even the slow-moving little town of York didn't wait for Mr. Talbot to finsh speaking. It was, in fact, just getting into its stride. There were many things to be done. Pioneers are busy people. They wanted at least one Police Constable, a Collector of Taxes, a Postmaster, and all kinds and conditions of public officials. But nobody had the time and few the inclination. Very well then, they would have to *make* time. So if you had been in York, you might, on any fine morning, have received a letter informing you that you were to be the Town Constable, or the Tax Collector. You would have objected; you had other things to do. But that made no difference. You were given two days to find a substitute. If you couldn't you paid a fine.

In 1816, for example, the Magistrate appointed a gentleman named John Murchison to be town clerk. He said, "No, thank you," and was fined for contempt. Then Jonathan Cawthra was appointed. He gracefully demurred, but paid the fine just the same. Then Jonathan Post was approached, and likewise refused. Likewise, too, he paid the fine. Finally, William Barber accepted, and turned out to be a lucky fellow, for next month, in addition to his salary, he received the three fines that had been paid by the three shy men who shunned the fierce light of publicity which even then doubtless beat upon such a public position as that of the Town Clerkship of York.

York, by the way, was undoubtedly unhealthty in its location. It was not for nothing, too, that it was entitled "muddy." We shall have time later to see just how muddy it could be. But we have reached the year 1834. And now I would like you to have a glimpse of this little town set in the wilderness. It is a summer day. Suddenly flocks of wild pigeons come flying over the town. Let the story be told in the words of a contemporary who was actually present: "A stream of wild pigeons," he writes, "took it into their heads to fly over York; and for two or three days the town resounded with one continued roll of firing; as if a skirmish were going on in the streets—every gun, pistol, musket, blunderbuss and fire-arm of whatever description was put in requisition. The constables and police magistrates were on the alert, and offenders without number were pulled up—among whom were honourable members of the executive and legislative councils, crown lawyers, respectable staid citizens, and last of all, the Sheriff of the county; till at last it was found that pigeons, flying within easy shot, were a temptation too strong for human virtue to withstand; and so the contest was given up and a sporting jubilee proclaimed to all and sundry." The arrival of pigeons had made it necessary, you see to proclaim a civic holiday.

And now, it is harldly necessary for me to tell you that on March 6, 1834, the town of York--after a good deal of family squabbling—became the city of Toronto. We haven't time to stay and listen to the quarrel, but many objected, among other things, to what they called the "wild and terrific" Indian name, "Toronto," instead of the good old British name, "York." Even the inhabitants had by this time become accustomed to the name "York." And I know for a fact that neither Lieutenant Governor Sir John Colborne nor Mr. Jarvis, who was Tory M.P. for York, even guessed who would be elected first Mayor of the City when Mr. Jarvis introduced in the House of Assembly "An Act to extend the limits of the town of York, to erect the said town into a city, and to incorporate it under the name of the City of Toronto." But that is another story and as soon as everything had been settled, more or less, there came a veritable flood of by-laws and regulations to improve the city. Unfortunately, there wasn't much money, but they began laying the first wooden sidewalks instead of footpaths and flagstones, and the main streets were graded and gravelled. A fully incorporated city is not a town. York had been changed in name, said the city fathers, why not change it in appearance? So the new city of Toronto tried its best to forget that it was ever little muddy York. And when 15 years later the "Great Fire of 1849" began at half-past one in the morning and went on burning building after building along street after street until six or seven o'clock at night—then a whole section of the city had to be rebuilt. New and better buildings sprang up. Muddy York had already changed past recognition.

Just how muddy, by the way, was York? I shall let a gentleman who lived in those days tell it in his own words.

It seems that while walking on the loose planks forming a sidewalk on King St. he espied a good-looking hat in the middle of the street. Curious to see and pick up the hat, he managed to reach it, and on lifting it discovered to his surprise the head of a man underneath. This individual at once appealed for help and deliverance, urging as a special plea that if prompt assistance was not rendered, his horse which was underneath, would certainly perish. The usual mode of extrication by the use of shovels and oxen was soon supplied, and man and horse excavated."

So much for Muddy York. Now, what of Toronto? We must go forward by leaps and bounds. To travel a century in half an hour is not easy. We shall stay long enough to observe, however, that it was not until the eighties that cement paving came to Toronto. Thirty-nine years ago Toronto's citizens were proud to announce that "many of Toronto's main streets and private thoroughfares are asphalted." Today there are 542 paved streets and 900 miles of concrete sidewalks. All in a century!

Three years after Muddy York became Toronto, the first "cab" appeared. It was called the "City." It was drawn by a horse, accommodated four passengers and was driven by a negro. It did a wonderful business. In no time there were competitors. Toronto seemed to blossom into cabs. Public street transportation had begun. There were cabs called "Chief Justice Robinson", "Britannia", "Queen", "Niagara", "Princess Royal", and "Transit". The first cabman made so much money that the business was overdone. Servants left their masters to go into the business. There were cabs everywhere. Then came omnibuses and all sorts of horse-drawn contraptions on wheels. And very soon the city had to regulate the duties and charges of all vehicles plying for hire in Toronto. Drivers were told that they must not "wantonly snap or flourish their whips," (I wish *we* had similar rules concerning motor car horns) and they were not to use "abusive, obscene or impertinent language of any kind whatever."

In 1861 the first horse-cars appeared on Yonge Street, and omnibus proprietors galore went out of business.

With the advent of the new, old things, old customs were disappearing. One hundred years ago a woman in court on a charge of drunkenness threw a muddy boot at the first Mayor of Toronto who was reproaching her for her sins. She was sentenced to be placed in the stocks. That was the last time stocks were used in Toronto.

You recall that I mentioned the great fire of 1849. The old frame buildings of Toronto were quick to catch fire. How did Toronto's citizens cope with fires? A hundred years ago the fire-fighters were a bucket brigade. Every house had to keep two buckets filled with water, and every man had to help in carrying buckets. Every carter had to be a water-carrier when fire broke out. At the scene of the fire eight men with a hand pump did some useful physical exercises and prizes were offered to "licensed carters and others" who were first to appear on the scene with barrels of water.

Mrs. Jameson, who visited Toronto in 1837, said she was assured by citizens that "a fire was always a public benefit, for a good brick house was sure to arise in the place of a wooden one."

However, Toronto didn't want too many fires. So a Fire and Water Committee was formed in 1847. Pipes were laid and water pumped up from the lake. Reservoirs were built, hydrants were instatlled, and so, as the century passed, modern Toronto with its splendid fire-fighting facilities and its hundreds of miles of pipes bearing water to every house, came into being.

I wish I had time to tell you of the work now in progress building a pipeline exteding a mile and a half out from the shore at Scarboro Bluffs. Nor have I time to tell of oil displacing the candle and electricity banishing the gas lamp. Now will we be able to watch the growth of tthe Police Force. We can't wait to watch the police deal with surging, window-smashing crowds in the streets of Toronto during such disturbances as the "Circus Riots" in 1855, or the "Sunday Riots" in 1874. It is an interesting story—the story of the development of the Police Force—often an exciting story—and it ends with the 969 men who now compose one of the finest and most efficient of police forces.

I should like to have been able to tell you, too, of the shops and of the inns and hostelries in early Toronto—the precursors of our modern shops and hotels. The cost of this Royal York Hotel, by the way, was 35 times the total value of all the property in Toronto 100 years ago. And I would suggest that on leaving this hotel you go up to York St. to Richmond St. There, on the north-east corner of York and Richmond Streets, still stands a frame building which is 100 years old. It used to be Crispin's Tavern, a popular resort generations ago. Richard Crispin, or "Coachman Dick," who was the proprietor, came to Canada with Lieutenant Governor Sir John Colborne in 1828 to drive the official coach. He and his good wife kept that tavern for years. And if in the act of making comparisons with modern hotels you are deluded into believing Toronto's citizens of old had no first class hotels, listen to these few words of appreciation written by a visitor to the Rossin House, which was opened in 1857 at the corner of King and York Streets: "Within its walls," he writes, "is congregated every appliance which affluence can desire, every pleasure which luxury can crave. Here are alluring condiments to tempt the most fastidious taste, vinous acidities to lubricate, and gastronomic ponderosities to titilate the palate! The prandial morceau here ceases from troubling, and the sated stomach is at rest. What magical transformations here wait human deglutition!"

That is probably unlike anything you have ever heard. Eating in those days was evidently one of the fine arts.

I hope I have given you some insight into the manner in which this hundred-year-old city became an accomplished fact. I haven't spoken of the multiplication of churches in this city of churches; of the activities—public and civic—that centred around old St. Lawrence Hall; of the old-time elections which were so often like small wars and not always bloodless, so that a general election was sometimes also a signal for general uproar. Nor can I do more than mention the libraries and museums which started so humbly and have become centres of enlightenment, entertainment and instruction. The story of all these is an essential part of the story of Toronto.

Life in York was very much like that of an English town in those days. But Toronto began to take on its own characteristics—characteristics which it retains to this day, when to be one of its citizens is to be a citizen of no mean city.

In sentimental retrospect, the thought of living in the days when Toronto was still in its infancy may have a certain romantic appeal. When I recall, for example that the Hon. Peter Russell, who succeeded Governor Simcoe as Administrator, could make grants of land to himself—"I, Peter Russell, grant to you, Peter Russell"

—I am filled with envy. Or when I think of the "Spoon Bill" of the Legislature of Upper Canada, by which a sum of no less than $3000 was voted to purchase a service of plate for Lieutenant-Governor Francis Gore, and when I learn that the Lieutenant-Governor took the money to England with him but never bought the plate—and when I read that a few days later he called the members of the Assembly—those who *voted* the money for him, "rascals," and dismissed them because, as he said, their longer absence from their respective avocations must be too great a sacrifice—then, well, I must hurry on!

Toronto's progress has been very real and so great as to seem at times and in many of its aspects, incredible. For, however glamorous the early days may appear in retrospect, the fact remains that the city of Toronto today far transcends the most sanguine expectations of those past generations who planned and laboured that their vision might be fulfilled. There is much yet to be done in this city of ours, and the difficulties we are called upon to face are, after all, nothing but growing pains.

Toronto is a city of which we may well be proud, and the surest guarantee of its continued progress is the pride of its citizens. For to be jealous of Toronto's honour, to be eternally watchful that the best interests of *all* its citizens be safeguarded, to be vigilant in the detection of civic and private shortcomings, and to encourage all that will give beauty to the city and happiness and contentment to its citizens—these are the visible, tangible evidences of true pride of citizenship.

A few weeks ago I was very much impressed by the ready enthusiastic reception accorded a few words of mine concerning slum conditions within this city. The response was immediate and active. Today a committee, representing all classes of citizens, is at work on this most difficult problem. The investigations that have already been made show the existence of undesirable dwellings within the boundaries of this great city. And I know that the energy with which this problem has been tackled is but further proof, if any were needed, that the pride of the citizens of Toronto will not tolerate the presence in their midst of any dwellings or districts comparable to those slums which, as long as they continue, will be dark stains on the escutcheons of older and larger cities in the Old and New Worlds. In a press dispatch only a few days ago I noticed that the Government of the United States is combining with officials of many states in a vigorous campaign to rid their cities of slums. Federal millions are being placed behind scores of projects having but one object—the clearing away, the rooting out of those tenement and slum districts which, like a malignant growth, despoil a city of its beauty and rob it of its health. How necessary it is that the very first indication of the insidious growth in Toronto, or in any city of this great Dominion, of any such areas we should act—and that immediately, so that slums may never grow to be centres of filth and misery for those of our less fortunate citizens, and a terrible handicap to generations yet unborn.

And now, against the background of a few frame houses in a wilderness, set the Toronto of today. No longer a pioneer community but a centre of culture. No longer two score wooden shacks huddled together where lake and forest meet, but a city of homes. No longer a place of darkness where sturdy toil-worn men and women trudge doggedly along muddy paths toward the dim candle-light of oil lamp that marks their homes, but a city of clean boulevards and broad highways lit by electricity, and where one may walk safe by night as by day; a city of schools; a city, too, of churches, and a city which has as its centre the second largest University in the British Empire.

I am glad and proud to recall that it was one of my predecessors in office—General John Graves Simcoe, who first proposed the founding of a University. His dream was realized, for the Legislature in 1798 set aside no less than 500,000 acres for purposes of education. Half of that—250,000 acres was for the establishment of a Universtiy. When in 1827 King's College was founded – chiefly at the instance of Dr. John Strachan—there was bequeathed to succeeding generations, as the University grew and in 1850 became the University of Toronto, all those tangible and intangible benefits which are the fruits of higher education.

What am I to say, too, of those cultural influences in our midst which give to the name of Toronto prestige, character, and an enviable reputation—a reputation such as can never be based alone on material possessions, on the acquisition of wealth or on commercial prosperity. I refer to such forces as are typified in the realm of Music by the Toronto Symphony Orchestra, the Little Symphony, the Bach Choir, the Mendelsson Choir and the Conservatory of Music, over which our own Dr. Ernest MacMillan is, in every sense of the word, the presiding genius. What am I to say, too, of Hart House and the development of Canadian Drama fostered by those enthusiasts who recently sponsored and took part in the Dominion Drama Festival Competition when no less than 14 plays were produced in the final play-offs.

In the world of entertainment, Toronto has facilities as few cities can rival. In the world of sport the Maple Leaf Hockey Club and the great Arena, not to mention all those other sports and games—baseball and cricket, skating and football—which give health and joy and not a little excitement to both young participants and to more elderly spectators.

From the little fairs of old has grown the great Canadian National Exhibition—unrivalled anywhere in the world, and the Royal Winter Fair, second only to that of Chicago.

Out of the woods came Toronto. Out of the wild tangle of tree and shrub that for untold centuries was known only to the Indians, the bear, the wolf, and the birds that arrive with the summer—came the little town of York—defiantly planting itself in the heart of a wilderness. By the strength of purpose of the men and women of old, and by ways too devious to trace in so short a time, the city of Toronto came into being.

If at times we are inclined to think that there is yet another wood out of which Toronto has not emerged—the wood in which the countries of the world are painfully groping their way as they seek the open boundless plains of peace and prosperity—there seems now to be every indication that soon the economic undergrowths and the thorny shrubs of international difficulties that delay the feet of progress will have passed away, even as the woods and mud of York have passed out of the sight of men. (Hearty Applause.)

THE ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Receipts and Payments for the Year ended 31st December, 1933.

RECEIPTS

Cash and Bank Balances at beginning of year		$ 120.87
Annual Fees Received:		
Resident	$3,902.00	
Non-Resident	84.00	
Junior	2.00	
		3,988.00
Interest on Bank Account		1.12
Proceeds from Sale of Year Book		2.00
Loan		100.00
Guests at Luncheons		184.80
Donation		5.00
Bank Overdraft at close of Year less Cash on Hand $4.17		314.97
		$4,475.02

PAYMENTS

General Expenses:	
Salaries	$ 500.00
Printing & Stationery	1,814.51
Telegrams & Telephones	207.84
Entertainment & Travelling Expenses	600.11
Reporting	189.00
Office Expense	566.86
Miscellaneous	34.70
Presentations	62.00
Repayment of Loan	500.00
	$4,475.02

Note:

Accounts Payable as at 31st December 1933 amount to $406.44

Loan Payable amounts to 100.00

We have audited the books and accounts of the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Ontario, for the year ended 31st December, 1933 and certify that in our opinion the above Statement of Receipts and Payments is correct according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the Club for the year ended 31st December, 1933.

H. T. JAMIESON & COMPANY,
Chartered Accountants
Honorary Auditors.

Toronto, Ontario
13th January, 1934

HONORARY PRESIDENTS OF THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA, 1903-1933.

1903-1912. Rt. Hon. Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, G.C.M.G., LL.D., D.C.L.*
1913. Field Marshal H.R.H. The Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, K.G., G.C.M.G.
1931. His Excellency The Rt. Hon. The Earl of Bessborough, P.C., G.C.M.G.

PAST PRESIDENTS:

1902-04. 1904-05.	Brig.-General James Mason.*
1905-06.	Reverend William Clark, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L.*
1906-07.	Mr. J. P. Murray.*
1907-08.	Mr. J. F. M. Stewart, B.A.
1908-09.	Mr. D. J. Goggin, M.A., D.C.L.
1909-10.	Mr. Elias Clouse, M.D.
1910-11.	Mr. J. Castell Hopkins, F.S.S.*
1911-12.	Mr. F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, K.C.
1912-13.	Right Reverend James F. Sweeney, M.A., D.D., D.C.L.
1913-14.	Mr. Justice James Craig.*
1914-15.	Lieut.-Colonel R. J. Stuart.
1915-16.	Mr. Albert Ham, Mus. Doc.
1916-17.	Mr. James Black Perry.
1917-18.	Mr. Norman Sommerville, M.A., K.C.
1918.	Mr. F. J. Coombs.
1919.	Mr. R. A. Stapells.
1920.	Mr. Arthur Hewitt.
1921.	Brig.-General C. H. Mitchell, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., LL.D.
1922.	Sir William Hearst, K.C.M.G., K.C., LL.D.
1923.	Mr. Ellis H. Wilkinson.
1924.	Mr. William Brooks.
1925.	Rev. Dr. R. N. Burns.
1926.	Colonel A. E. Kirkpatrick, Hon., A.D.C.
1927.	Colonel Alexander Fraser, LL.D., A.D.C.
1928.	Mr. Robert Fennell.
1929.	Mr. Hugh Eayrs.
1930.	Mr. John D. Spence.
1931.	Mr. H. G. Stapells.

HONORARY LIFE MEMBERS:

1920.	Colonel Alexander Fraser, M.A., LL.D., Litt.D.
1924.	Mr. D. J. Goggin, M.A., D.C.L.
1928.	Mr. H. G. Stapells.
1931.	His Excellency The Earl of Willingdon, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G.
1932.	Lieut.-Colonel Geo. A. Drew, K.C.

*Deceased.

CONSTITUTION

INSTITUTED 1903

THE OBJECT OF THE CLUB IS THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF CANADA AND A UNITED EMPIRE

Organization of the Club and Branches

Art. 1.—(1) The organization shall be called the Empire Club of Canada.

(2) Branches of the Club may be established with the authority of the Executive Committee, and subject to such conditions and regulations as may from time to time be decided upon by the Club in Toronto.

(3) A committee may be appointed under the provisions of sub-section 2, article 1, for the establishment of branches of the Club, and the word "Unit" shall denote a Branch.

Classes of Members

Art. 2.—The Membership of the Club shall be open to any man of the full age of eighteen years who is a British Subject and shall consist of

- (a) Active Resident Members,
- (b) Non-Resident Members,
- (c) Life Members,
- (d) Honorary Members.

Active Resident Members and Non-Resident Members

Art. 3.—(1) Candidates for Membership shall be proposed and seconded by two members of the Club in good standing, and shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meeting of the Executive Committee.

(2) Active Resident Members shall pay an annual fee of $4.00 and Non-Resident Members $3.00, this fee to include membership obtained after October 15th in any year till December 31st of the following year. Pay-

ment of such fee shall entitle each member to receive a copy of the Year Book. No member in arrears for fees or dues shall be considered in good standing or be eligible for office.

Life Members

Art. 4.—(1) Life Members, not exceeding ten in any one year, may be elected from time to time, at an open meeting of the Club, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee. Povided, however, that Ministers of the Federal Parliament and Premiers of the different Provinces of the Dominion of Canada may be eligible for election at any time, even though their election may cause the number of Life Members to exceed ten in one year.

(2) Life Members shall pay a fee of $50.00 in one sum.

Art. 5.—(1) Honorary Members may be elected upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee, and at a general meeting of the Club.

(2) Honorary Members shall be exempt from the payment of fees, but shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

Officers to be Elected

Art. 6.—(1) The officers of the Club shall consist of an Honorary President; a President; First, Second and Third Vice-Presidents; a Treasurer, a Secretary, or a Secretary-Treasurer; the Executive Committee shall consist of these officers and 17 other members who with the officers shall be elected by ballot, and of the ex-officio members hereinafter mentioned. All Past Presidents shall constitute an Advisory Council under the Chairmanship of the immediate Past President and such Advisory Council shall elect annually three members, who, together with the retiring President, shall be the ex-officio members of the Executive Committee for the ensuing year.

Election of Officers

(2) The Election of Officers of the Club shall take place at a general meeting of the members, to be held not later than April 15 of each year, at a date to be decided upon by the Executive Committee, and this meeting shall be deemed to be the Annual Meeting. And the officers and Executive Committee then elected shall hold office till April 30, of the following year, and thereafter until their successors respectively have been duly elected and installed. A committee to nominate the officers for the new year shall be appointed at a regular or special meeting to be held, in the year 1934 not less than three, and in all subsequent years not less than four, and not more than six weeks before such Annual Meeting, due notice of such meeting to be given to all members in good standing, and such committee shall report to the Annual Meeting; provided that no member shall be nominated to any office unless and until he has given notice in writing that he consents to such nomination and will act if elected to the position for which he has been nominated.

(3) Two Auditors shall be elected at each Annual Meeting.

Standing Committees

(4) Standing Committees shall be appointed as follows:—

(*a*) Finance Committee.
(*b*) Speakers' Committee.
(*c*) Membership Committee.
(*d*) Constitution Committee.
(*e*) Luncheon and Reception Committee.
(*f*) Publicity Committee.
(*g*) Royal Colonial Institute Committee.

Filling of Vacancies Among Officers

Art. 7.—In the event of an office becoming vacant by death, resignation, or otherwise, the vacancy thus caused shall be filled by the Executive Committee and the person so chosen shall hold office until the next Annual Meeting.

Duties of Officers

Art. 8.—The duties of the officers shall be those customary to such positions in similar organizations.

. *Holding of Meetings*

Art. 9.—(1) The Club shall hold general meetings weekly from October to May, both inclusive, in each twelve months with such intermissions as from time to time may be decided upon.

(2) At the Annual Meeting a report of the year's proceedings and work shall be submitted by the Presisent, and this report shall be accompanied by an interim report from the Treasurer. As the financial year does not end until Decmber 31st, the Treasurer shall, in addition to the interim report presented at the Annual Meeting, present an audited statement of the finances of the Club for the full financial year at a regular meeting of the Club held during the month of January.

Notice of Meetings

Art. 10.—Written or printed notices of all meetings shall be given to the members of the Club. Such notices shall be sufficient if addressed to the members, and deposited post paid in the post office in Toronto.

Quorum at Meetings

Art. 11.—Fifteen members in good standing shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Club, general, annual or special and the presiding officer shall have a casting vote. Six members shall form a quorum of the Executive Committee.

Limitation of Business at General Meetings

Art. 12.—No business other than the hearing of the addresses and notices of motion shall be introduced at any meeting of the Club, unless it has been submitted to the Executive Committee and received its approval.

Calling of Special Meetings

Art. 13.—Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President, or on a requisition signed by three of its members. Special meetings of the Club may be called by the President, and shall be called by him on a requisition signed by twelve members and stating the object of the meeting. This object shall be stated in the notice calling the special meeting.

Financial Year

Art. 14.—The Financial Year shall be the same as the calendar year, *viz.*: January first to December thirty-first.

Amendments to Constitution

Art. 15.—This Constitution may be amended at the Annual Meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose, subject to a two-thirds majority vote of the members present.

LIFE MEMBERS

NAME	ADDRESS
His Honour, Dr. Herbert Bruce	Government House
Sir Robert L. Borden	Ottawa, Ont.
Dr. Elias Clouse	827 Bathurst St.
Mr. F. J. Coombs	320 Bay St.
Mr. W. C. Crowthers	69 Yonge St.
Col. Alexander Fraser	Parliament Bldgs.
Mr. John J. Gibbons	501-159 Bay St.
Dr. D. J. Goggin	91 St. Joseph's St.
Dr. Albert Ham	10 Huntley St.
Mr. Arthur Hewitt	Consumers Gas Co., 19 Toronto St.
Mr. W. T. Kernahan	26 Elm Ave.
Mr. Roy MacDougall	54 Wellington St. W.
Mr. John MacKay	506-44Victoria St.
Col. W. G. MacKendrick	388 University Ave. c/o Warren Bituminous Paving Co.
Mr. W. J. McWhinney, K.C.	60 Victoria St.
Sir H. W. Pellatt	McKinnon Bldg.
Mr. J. B. Perry	702 Excelsior Bldg.
Mr. J. A. Scythes	128 Sterling Rd.
Mr. R. A. Stapells	East Block Parliament Bldgs.
Mr. Herbert G. Stapells	14 King St. E.
Mr. J. F. M. Stewart	Royal Bank Bldg.
Lt.-Col. R. J. Stuart	42 Heathdale Rd.
Mr. H. B. Tindall	6 Rose Park Drive
Mr. E. R. Wood	26 King St. E.
Mr. F. B. Fetherstonhaugh	Canadian Bank of Commerce Bldg.

LIST OF MEMBERS

Mr. Chas. E. Abbs	320 Bay St.
Mr. A. A. Adams	24 King St. W.
Mr. G. W. Adams	320 Bay St.
Dr. J. Frank Adams	22 College St.
Mr. G. A. Adamson	Clarkson, Gordon Dilworth, Guilfoyle & Nash, 15 Wellington St. W.
Mr. Norman E. Agar	Robt. Simpson Co. Ltd., 108 Mutual St.
Sir John Aird	Bank of Commerce, King St. W.
Mr. W. H. Aird	1508 Royal Bank Bldg.
Mr. J. F. Aitchison	Can. National Railways, 20 York St.
Mr. B. P. Alley	Asst. General Mgr., Canadian Bank of Commerce, Head Office.
Dr. David W. Allen	40 Glencairn Ave.
Mr. George H. Allen	Buntin, Reid Co. Ltd., 117 Peter St.

Mr. R. W. Allin	Synod of Toronto, 125 Adelaide St. E.
Mr. Max Aiken	Messrs. Aiken & Waldman, 331 Bay St.
Mr. A. E. Ames	320 Bay St.
Mr. A. A. Amos	11 King St. W.
Dr. H. B. Anderson	338 Bloor St. E.
Mr. T. H. Andison	15 King St. W.
Mr. David Andrewes, Jr.	28 Lauder Ave.
Mr. Sydney E. Anglin	41 Blythwood Rd.
Mr. C. N. Appleton	c/o Massey-Harris Co., Ltd., 915 King St. W.
Mr. W. O. Archdekin	312 Clinton St.
Dr. T. D. Archibald	112 King St. W.
Rev. J. B. M. Armour	The British & Foreign Bible Society in Canada & Nfld., 16 College St.
Mr. J. S. P. Armstrong	Dom. of Canada Gen. Ins., 26 Adelaide St. W.
Mr. W. J. Armstrong	73 Adelaide St. W.
Mr. John P. Arnott	57 Rivercrest Road
Mr. T. L. Ashton	320 Bay St.
Mr. Fred Atkinson	Room 720, Dominion Bank Bldg.
Mr. J. S. Atkinson	420 Confederation Life Bldg.
Mr. L. R. Atkinson	Bank of Toronto, 205 Yonge St.
Mr. Percy H. Auger	c/o The Mail & Empire.
Mr. R. H. Austin	Dack Bldg., 73 King St. W.
Mr. F. H. Bacque	Messrs. Bacque, Hay & Co. 100 Adelaide St. W.
Mr. James W. Baillie	301 McKinnon Bldg.
Mr. R. H. Bainard	21 Front St. E.
Mr. Geo. A. Baker	144 Front St. W.
Mr. H. A. Baldwin	50 Lowther Ave.
Mr. L. H. Baldwin	85 Bloor St. E.
Mr. Gordon B. Balfour, K.C.	Canada Permanent Bldg.
Mr. Geo. Barber	Spruce Falls Power & Paper Co., 1403 Northern Ontario Bldg.
Mr. F. H. Barlow	36 Toronto St.
Mr. Norman H. Bastedo	320 University Ave.
Mr. W. Howard Batten	c/o Rapid Grip & Batten Ltd., 181 Richmond St. W.
Mr. E. R. Battley	476 Union Station.
Major W. James Baxter	c/o McConnell & Fergusson Ltd., 254 Bay St.
Mr. A. H. Beal	Tree Line Navigation Co., Ltd., Queen's Quay.
Mr. Wm. P. Bayley	c/o Page Hersey Tubes Ltd., 100 Church St.
Mr. Ernest R. Bealey	c/o Myott Son & Co., Ltd., 40 Wellington St. E.

Mr. John R. Beamish	367 Bay St.
Mr. A. H. C. Bearsto	R. A. Daly & Co., 80 King St. W.
Lt.-Col. Torrance Beardmore	37 Front St. E.
Mr. E. P. Beatty	c/o Muntz & Beatty, Temple Bldg.
Dr. Hy. A. Beatty, M.R.C.S.	52 Howland Ave.
Dr. C. W. Becker	134 Bloor St. E.
Mr. Herbert Begg	14 Toronto St.
Dr. G. F. Belden	2 Bloor St. E.
Mr. H. Brooke Bell	Room 1505, 372 Bay St.
Mr. T. H. Bell	Orange Insurance Co., 10 Berti St.
Mr. W. R. Belyea	Wm. H. Dunn Ltd., 85 Richmond St. W.
Mr. E. J. Bennett	Bank of Hamilton Bldg.
Mr. J. A. Bennet	1108 Bay St.
Mr. A. F. Best	Canadian Fire Underwriters, 2015 Metropolitan Bldg.
Mr. Frank Bethel	Mfg. Head Office, c/o T. Eaton Co., Ltd.
Mr. C. R. Bigelow	67 Yonge St.
Dr. J. C. Biggar	410 Sherbourne St.
Mr. P. W. Binns	1305 Royal Bank Bldg.
Mr. J. W. Billings	194 Bloor St. W.
Mr. E. S. Bird	Bird & Williams, 16 Wellington St. E.
Mr. H. C. Birkeley	Evening Telegram
Mr. A. H. Birmingham	454 University Ave.
Col. H. L. Bishop	The Coniages Mines Ltd., 320 Bay St.
Mr. G. Bishop	Gen. Engineering Dept., Bell Telephone Co., 76 Adelaide St. W.
Mr. H. H. Bishop	c/o Robt. Simpson Co., Mutual St. Bldg.
Mr. Walter R. Biton	16 Lowther Ave.
Mr. F. A. Blachford	286-8 Yonge St.
Mr. D. D. Blackburn	Acme Farmers' Dairy, Walmer Rd.
Mr. F. J. Blackburn	93 Lonsdale Rd.
Col. G. G. Blackstock	c/o G. G. Blackstock & Co., 25 King St. W.
Mr. B. S. Blackwell	17 Donegal Drive
Mr. E. H. Blake	14 Manning Arcade, 24 King St. W.
Mr. C. A. Bogart	Head Office, Dominion Bank
Mr. M. B. Boddington	37 Bloor St. W.
Mr. Gordon R. Bongard	Bongard & Co., 80 King St. W.
Mr. R. R. Bongard	Bongard & Co., 80 King St. W.
Mr. W. H. M. Bonnell	217 King St. E.
Mr. A. E. Boothe	Room 1000, 25 King St. W.
Mr. W. H. Bosworth	c/o Stanley & Bosworth, 98 King St. W.

Mr. W. G. Bowles	Robt. Simpson Co., Ltd., Yonge St.
Mr. H. C. Bourlier	General Passenger Agent, Canadian National Rlys., King & Yonge Sts.
Mr. J. F. Boyce	25 Kingswood Rd.
Mr. M. J. Boyce	217 Roehampton Ave.
Mr. Robt. J. L. Boyd	Parliament Bldgs.
Mr. Mossom DeG. Boyd	15 Toronto St.
Mr. G. A. Brace	c/o Ferranti Electric Ltd., Mount Dennis.
Mr. J. H. Brace	c/o Bell Telephone Co., of Canada, 76 Adelaide St. W.
Mr. Thomas Bradshaw	North American Life Assurance Co., 112 King St. W.
Mr. W. A. Brant	Room 411 Parliament Bldgs.
Mr. F. Y. W. Brathwaite	177 Lyndhurst Ave.
Mr. M. Bredin	Bredin's Bread Co., Davenport Rd.
Mr. W. W. Breithaupt	77 Douglas Drive
Mr. George Brigden	160 Richmond St. W.
Mr. Horace L. Brittain	Room 1105, 137 Wellington St. W.
Mr. W. Brooks	I. O. O. F., 229 College St.
Mr. Bertram Brooker	c/o J. J. Gibbons Ltd., 159 Bay St.
Rev. Canon J. S. Broughall	81 Collegeview Ave.
Mr. A. T. Brown	c/o E. Pullan, Ltd., 6 Maud St.
Mr. E. P. Brown	63 St. Clair Ave., W.
Mr. F. D. Brown	29 Roxborough St. E.
Mr. F. H. Brown	64 Lympstone Ave.
Mr. F. I. Brown	Robt. Simpson Co. Ltd., Mutual St.
Mr. Henry Brown	39 Poplar Plains Cres.
Mr. James Browne	174 Alexandra Blvd.
Mr. W. E. Brown	127 Howland Ave.
Mr. T. Stuart Brownlee	35 Lyall Ave.
Mr. G. D. Brundrit	28 Duke St.
Mr. Robt. A. Bryce	1001-85 Richmond St. W.
Mr. R. N. Bryson	R. N. Bryson & Co., Toronto Gen. Trust Bldg.
Mr. C. H. Burgess	255 Bay St.
Mr. H. E. Burgess	702 Canada Permanent Bldg.
Mr. W. H. Burgess	41 Glenrose Ave.
Mr. H. D. Burns	38 Melinda St.
Dr. R. N. Burns	486 Jarvis St.
Mr. T. L. J. Burroughs	36 Yonge St.
Mr. C. L. Burton	c/o Robt. Simpson Co. Ltd.
Dr. W. H. Butt	316 Keele St.
Mr. W. J. Cairns	Bell Telephone Co., 76 Adelaide St. W.
Mr. A. M. Calvert	118 Hudson Drive
Mr. John D. Cameron	Canadian Pacific Rlys., 203 C.P.R. Bldg.

Mr. John D. Cameron	Cameron, Pointon & Merrit, 44 Adelaide St. W.
Mr. W. A. Cameron	801 Dominion Bank Bldg.
Dr. Colin A. Campbell	321 Medical Arts Bldg.
Mr. G. C. Campbell	603 Sterling Tower Bldg.
Mr. M. A. Campbell	Ont. Trustees & Ratepayers Assoc., 18 Bloor St.
Mr. R. E. Campbell	Great West Life Assce. Co., 36 Toronto St.
Mr. W. F. Cantelon	991 Dovercourt Rd.
Mr. R. H. Cardy	c/o Bank of Toronto, King & Bay Sts.
Mr. Ed. M. Carleton	94 Dunn Ave.
Mr. C. H. Carlisle	152 Simcoe St.
Capt. H. R. Carradus	50 Standish Ave.
Mr. A. H. Carr	10 Adelaide St. E.
Mr. Nichol Carrie	340 Avenue Rd.
Major R. R. Carr-Harris	1090 King St. W.
Mr. George Carruthers	388 University Ave.
Mr. F. C. Carter	372 Bay St.
Mr. J. Smyth Carter	67 Yonge St.
Dr. W. C. Carthy	Suite 50, 2 Bloor St. E.
Brig. Gen. G. S. Cartwright	397 Russell Hill Rd.
Mr. J. A. Caulder	c/o Dairy Corp. of Can. Ltd., 80 King St. W.
Dr. W. R. Caven	160 Bloor St. E.
Mr. Floyd S. Chalmers	The Financial Post, 481 University Ave.
Mr. Harry S. Chandler	69 Baby Point Cres.
Mr. Arthur C. Chapeau	c/o John Stark & Co., Royal Bk Bldg.
Mr. Leo E. Charles	c/o Victoria Paper & Twine, Fleet St.
Mr. P. G. Cherry	76 Church St.
Lt.-Col. Geo. T. Chisholm	21 Jordan St.
Mr. W. B. Christie	5 Margdon Rd.
Mr. H. G. Clapperton	Clapperton & Sons Ltd., 23 River St.
Mr. C. T. Clark	Rolph, Clark Stone, 201 Carlaw Ave.
Dr. Harold Clark	1103 Temple Bldg.
Mr. Herbert A. Clark, K.C.	Mulock, Milliken, Clark & Redman, 709 Dom. Bank Bldg.
Mr. J. W. G. Clark	c/o Cockfield Brown & Co., Metropolitan Bldg.
Dr. Wm. J. Clark	867 College St.
Mr. A. E. Clemes	41 Church St.
Mr. H. B. Clemes	U.F.O. Co-operative Co., 28 Duke St.
Dr. G. W. Clendennan	268 High Park Ave.
Mr. Geo. J. Cliff	Toronto Salt Works, 196 Eastern Ave.
Mr. I. B. Close	Manufacturers Life Assce. Co.,

	200 Bloor St. E.
Mr. F. L. Clouse	150 Duchess St.
Canon H. J. Cody	603 Jarvis St.
Mr. J. L. Cohen	Messrs. Cohen & Rosenberg, 306 Federal Bldg.
Major E. F. Coke	Playfair & Coke, 200 Bay St.
Mr. H. G. Colebrook	Robt. Simpson Co. Ltd., Yonge St.
Mr. J. W. Collins	New Zealand Govt. Offices, 320 Bay St.
Mr. T. E. Connor	c/o Crown Life Ins. Co., 59 Yonge St.
Mr. Geo. S. H. Cook	c/o Armstrong & Cook, 12 Richmond St. E.
Mr. Chas K. Cooper	71 King St. W.
Mr. J. E. Corcoran	10 Adelaide St. E.
Mr. W. E. Corlett	26 Munro Pk. Ave.
Mr. R. R. Corson	146 Brock Ave.
Mr. T. A. Cosford	117 Williamson Rd.
Provost F. H. Cosgrave	Provost's Lodge, Trinity College.
Mr. E. F. Coste	510 Royal Bank Bldg.
Mr. Harold J. Cotter	Bank of Montreal, 4 Wellington St. E.
Mr. J. E. Coulter	Canadian Pacific Express, King & Simcoe Sts.
Mr. W. C. Coulter	115 Sumach St.
Major R. Cecil Cowan	27 Lynwood Ave.
Mr. Clark L. Cowan	Flemming, Denton & Co., 601 Dominion Bank Bldg.
Mr. W. A. Craick	1404 Bank of Hamilton Bldg.
Mr. T. A. Craig	c/o Wickett & Craig, Cypress St.
Mr. J. H. Crang	J. H. Crang & Co., 304 Bay St.
Mr. A. S. Crighton	137 Wellington St. W.
Mr. C. E. Critchley	Australian Trade Commissioner, 15 King St. W.
Mr. E. Crockett	Bank of Nova Scotia, 38 Melinda St.
Mr. J. R. Croft	Canadian General Securities, 347 Bay St.
Mr. Keith B. Crombie	Lord & Thomas of Can. Ltd., 67 Yonge St.
Mr. E. F. Crossland	49 Spadina Ave.
Mr. James Crossland	11 Errington Ave.
Mr. Samuel G. Crowell	c/o Blake Lash & Co., 24th Flr., Bank of Commerce Bldg.
Mr. C. T. Croucher	Consolidated Press Ltd., 73 Richmond St. W.
Mr. John Cruickshank	135 College St.
Mr. Alfred Cosby Crysler	Board of Trade, Royal Bank Bldg.
Mr. H. L. Cummings	328 Parliament Bldgs.
Mr. L. E. Cuthbertson	Industrial Accept. Corp., 708 Star Bldg.

Mr. L. F. Cutten	302 Church St.
Mr. A. H. Cuttle	135 Adelaide St. E.
Mr. R. A. Daly	Star Bldg., 80 King St. W.
Col. Wm. R. Dalziel	The Salvation Army, James & Albert Sts.
Mr. M. L. Davies	Standard Chem'l. Co. Ltd., 200 Bay St.
Mr. Bruce P. Davis	Room 504, 357 Bay St.
Mr. George D. Davis	481 University Ave.
Mr. W. H. Davis	c/o Florentine Co. Ltd., 252 King St. E.
Mr. R. Reade Davis	29 Melinda St.
Mr. W. Dawson	Consolidated Press Ltd., 73 Richmond St. W.
Col. F. H. Deacon	197 Bay St.
Rev. S. W. Dean	42 Delaware Ave.
Mr. T. Norman Dean	186 Belsize Drive
Mr. W. G. Dean	561 Avenue Rd.
Mr. C. W. Defoe	164 Glen Rd.
Mr. H. W. DeGuerre	200 St. Clair Ave. W.
Mr. A. J. Denne	80 King St. W.
Mr. Frank Denton	Denton & Denton, 330 Bay St.
Mr. W. H. Denton	Flemming, Denton & Co., 601 Dominion Bank Bldg.
Mr. F. G. DeVeer	Holland Import Trade, 33 Adelaide St. W.
Mr. Henry M. De Vries	6 Glen Edyth Drive.
Mr. H. N. De Witt	36 Toronto St.
Mr. N. W. De Witt	Victoria College
Capt. Chas. E. Dickinson	406 Canadian Pacific Railway Bldg.
Mr. W. A. Dilworth	6 Elderwood Drive.
Mr. Gordon R. M. Dingle	Massey-Harris Co. Ltd., 915 King St. W.
Mr. B. Alan R. Dignan	Salter, Stapells & Sewell, 112 Yonge St.
Mr. H. J. Dingman	114 Kilbarry Rd.
Mr. G. H. Dinsmore	c/o Gibson Brothers, 357 Bay St.
Canon John H. Dixon	352 Russell Hill Rd.
Mr. A. K. Doan	Doan Coal Co. Ltd., 383 Sorauren Ave.
Mr. S. C. Dobson	888 Dupont St.
Mr. Brian Doherty	c/o Messrs. Young & McEvoy, 45 Richmond St. W.
Mr. J. S. Douglas	272 Bay St.
Hon. Manning W. Doherty	159 Bay St.
Mr. Howard R. Douglas	Mail Bldg., #114.
Mr. R. J. Dowdall	461 St. Clarens Ave.
Mr. Donald C. Dowkes	63 St. George St.
Sir Henry Drayton	112 Yonge St.

Mr. John Drew	23 Kelway Blvd.
Lt.-Col. G. A. Drew	Parliament Bldgs.
Mr. H. A. Drummond	1 Deer Park Cresc.
Mr. Norman G. Duffett	Pilot Insurance Co., 159 Bay St.
Mr. R. B. Duggan	15 King St. W.
Mr. E. J. B. Duncan	Federal Bldg., 85 Richmond St. W.
Mr. S. F. Duncan	23 Forest Hill Rd.
Mr. Stanley Duncan	159 Bay St.
Mr. D. Dunkelman	c/o Berger Tailoring Co., Boulevard Dr.
Mr. Kenneth J. Dunstan	279 Russell Hill Rd.
Mr. Jas. E. Dyke	89 Bloor St. W.
Mr. A. W. Eastmure	26 Adelaide St. W.
Mr. R. Y. Eaton	T. Eaton Co.
Mr. Hugh S. Eayrs	70 Bond St.
Mr. H. D. Eby	15 Wellington St. E.
Mr. Alfred Edge	Canadian National Rlys., 1 Simcoe St.
Mr. H. P. Edge	Barrister, Confederation Life Bldg.
Mr. Douglas Edmiston	448
Mr. Geo. Edmonds	5th Floor, Canada Life Bldg.
Mr. A. Geoffrey Edwards	10 Adelaide St. E.
Mr. H. Percy Edwards	10 Adelaide St. E.
Mr. Gordon E. Elliott	Canadian National Railways, Room 1469, 1 Simcoe St.
Mr. L. Elliott	1108 Bay St.
Mr. J. F. Ellis	Birks, Ellis, Ryrie Ltd., 134 Yonge St.
Mr. Matthew T. Ellis	Birks, Ellis, Ryrie Ltd., 134 Yonge St.
Mr. Thos. S. Elmore	Can. Permanent Bldg., 320 Bay St.
Mr. A. L. Ellsworth	1405 Royal Bank Bldg.
Mr. J. O. Elton	47 Yonge St.
Mr. E. F. Ely	c/o Ely Ltd., 28 King St. W.
Mr. Thos. H. English	517 Gladstone Ave.
Mr. W. W. Fair	221 Audrey Ave.
Mr. Newman Fairhead	Lake Simcoe Ice & Fuel Co., 110 Dupont St.
Mr. R. H. Fairweather	88 Yonge St.
Sir Robt. Falconer	81 Glengowan Rd.
Mr. H. W. Falconer	26 Adelaide St. W.
Col. Geo. O. Fallis	175 Lowther Ave.
Mr. Robt. H. Fennell	357 Bay St.
Mr. John Fanning	5th Floor, Canada Life Bldg.
Mr. H. M. Ferguson	Room 1001, 159 Bay St.
Mr. J. F. Ferguson	Messrs. Chisholm & Ferguson, 25 King St. W.
Mr. John Ferguson	c/o Oriental Carpet Mfrs. Ltd., 63 Wellington St. W.
Mr. M. Ferguson	112 King St. W.

Mr. J. E. M. Fetherstonhaugh	Fetherstonhaugh & Co., Canadian Bank of Commerce Bldg.
Rev. A. J. Fidler	135 Tyndall Ave.
Dr. George Fierheller	581 Jarvis St.
Mr. Gordon T. Finch	36 King St. W.
Hon William Finlayson	1 Parliament Bldgs.
Mr. A. B. Fisher	119 Spadina Ave.
Mr. J. W. Fisher	c/o National Life Assce. Co., 522 University Ave.
Mr. P. Fishman	1570 King St. W.
Mr. J. B. Keith Fisken	23 Scott St.
Mr. P. F. Fitch	Dominion Silk Mills Ltd., 2 Mark St.
Mr. D. G. Fitzgerald	153 Rosedale Heights Dr.
Sir Joseph Flavelle	2610 Can. Bank of Commerce Bldg. 25 King St. W.
Mr. Atwell Fleming, Jr.	c/o Atwell Fleming Ptg. Co., 11 Duncan St.
Mr. Donald M. Fleming	Saunders, Kingsmill, Mills & Price, 612 Federal Bldg.
Mr. G. C. Fleming	616 Avenue Rd.
Mr. Paul R. Flemming	Flemming, Denton & Co., 601 Dominion Bank Bldg.
Mr. J. Flynn	16 Boulton Drive
Mr. W. Hugh Flynn	16 Boulton Drive
Mr. Wm. J. Forrester	21 King St. E.
Mr. J. W. L. Forster	27 Wellesley St.
Mr. C. H. Fortner	32 Church St.
Mr. A. S. Foster	302-306 Church St.
Mr. Paul S. Fowler	Withamite Limited, 521 Front St. E.
Mr. W. Claude Fox	Frontwell Bldg., 47 Wellington St. E.
Mr. S. J. Frame	Commonwealth Bldg., 21 King St. E.
Mr. G. C. Francis	Can. Fire Underwriters, 2015 Metropolitan Bldg.
Mr. Roy H. Frankel	c/o Frankel Bros. Ltd., Don & Eastern Ave.
Mr. Edward J. Freyseng	Queen & Sumach Sts.
Mr. Harold R. Frost	801 Federal Bldg.
Mr. F. A. Gaby	480 Spadina Rd.
Mr. W. G. Gallow	112-118 King St. W.
Mr. Arnold Gaine	10 McCaul St.
Mr. J. E. Ganong, Jr.	1105 Atlas Bldg.
Mr. Geo. C. Gale	200 Heath St. W.
Mr. A. M. Garden	c/o Aylesworth, Thompson, Bank of Hamilton Bldg.
Mr. R. H. Gale	Royal Bank of Canada Bldg.
Mr. H. H. Garrett	c/o Massie & Renwick Ltd., 465 Bay St.
Mr. W. J. Gamble	Coleman Lamp & Stove Co.,

	9 Davies Ave.
Mr. Geo. M. Garton	120 Victoria St.
Capt. B. H. Geary, V.C.	Dom. of Canada Gen. Insurance Co., 26 Adelaide St. W.
Mr. Frank Genovese	502 Crawford St.
Mr. Chevalier V. Gianelli	41 Glenholme Ave.
Mr. J. A. Gibson	Gibson Bros., 357 Bay St.
Mr. J. G. Gibson	707 Bank of Hamilton Bldg.
Mr. Wm. Robt. Gibson	c/o Gurney Properties, 500 King St. W.
Prof. Lachlan Gilchrist	University of Toronto, Physics Dept.
Mr. T. S. H. Giles	106 McKinnon Bldg., Jordan & Melinda Sts.
Mr. James Gillespie	Pres., Avenue Garments, Ltd., 445 King St. W.
Mr. John B. Goff	11 Charlotte St.
Mr. A. M. P. Goldberg	123 Chestnut St.
Col. A. E. Gooderham	49 Wellington St. E.
Mr. A. E. Gooderham, Jr.	49 Wellington St. E.
Mr. Geo. H. Gooderham	49 Wellington St. E.
Mr. T. W. Gooding	Wood & Kirkpatrick, 15 Toronto St.
Mr. Theo. Goodman	Can. National Rlys., Claims Dept., 1 Simcoe St.
Mr. William E. Gordon	c/o Robt. Simpson Co. Ltd., Yonge St.
Mr. A. B. Gordon	1112 Bank of Hamilton Bldg.
Mr. T. A. Gordon	1112 Bank of Hamilton Bldg.
Mr. W. Lockart Gordon	Clarkson, Gordon & Dilworth, 15 Wellington St. W.
Mr. R. S. Gosset	Canadian National Rlys., 20 York St.
Mr. D. W. Gowdy	The Financial Post, 491 University Ave.
Mr. Geo. S. D. Graham	F. & E. Cheque Writer Sales Co., 137 Wellington St. W.
Mr. C. H. Grainger	Mail & Empire Bldg., King & Bay Sts.
Mr. P. F. Grand	8-14 Wellington St. W.
Mr. D. E. Grant	Manufacturers Life, 320 Bay St.
Mr. S. Grassett	509 McKinnon Bldg.
Mr. F. M. Gray	Canada Dry Ginger Ale Ltd., 153 Sherbourne St.
Mr. W. J. Green	3 Whitney Ave.
Mr. R. H. Greene	42 Crescent Rd.
Mr. A. R. Greene	590 King St. W.
Mr. R. H. Greer	c/o Smith, Rae & Greer, Continental Life Bldg.
Mr. G. E. Gresham	16 Wellington St. E.
Mr. A. Monro Grier	186 Bloor St. W.
Mr. F. D. Griffiths	c/o C. L. Marshall & Co., 47 Yonge St.

Mr. T. O. Grills	c/o H. L. Plummer & Co., 15 King St. W.
Mr. H. C. Grout	c/o Canadian Pacific Rlys., New Union Station.
Mr. J. A. Grout	MacLean Publishing Co., 481 University Ave.
Mr. A. E. Guest	60 Courcelette Rd.
Mr. H. E. Guilfoyle	c/o Clarkson, Gordon, Dilworth, Guilfoyle & Nash, 15 Wellington St. W.
Dr. J. B. Gullen	461 Spadina Ave.
Mr. J. H. Gundy	36 King St. W.
Mr. S. B. Gundy	Oxford University Press, 480 University Ave.
Mr. Edmond Gunn	Gunn, Roberts & Co., Excelsior Life Bldg.
Brig. Gen. Gunn	Room 50, Sun Life Bldg., 60 Victoria St.
Dr. C. H. Hair	545 Palmerston Blvd.
Mr. James Hales	c/o Hales & Burt, Imperial Bank Bldg.
Mr. Albert C. Hall	c/o Ocean Accident & Guarantee Corp'n., Federal Bldg.
Mr. F. M. Hall	Canadian Pacific Express, King & Simcoe Sts.
Mr. H. B. Hall	54 Farnham Ave.
Mr. I. C. Hall	87 Crescent Rd.
Mr. Fred W. Halls	Fred W. Halls Paper Co. Ltd., 261 Adelaide St. W.
Mr. C. N. Ham	C.P.R. Express Bldg., King & Simcoe Sts.
Mr. George Hambly	79 Wellington St. W.
Mr. Percy Hambly	93 Constance St.
Mr. A. E. Hamilton	529 Donlands Ave.
Mr. C. S. Hamilton	Trusts & Guar. Co. Ltd., 302 Bay St.
Mr. Grey Hamilton, K.C.	Messrs. Hamilton & Brownell, 330 Bay St.
Mr. R. S. Hamilton	c/o Truck & Tractor Equip. Co., 670 Bloor St. W.
Mr. H. K. Hamilton	Man'fts Life Ass. Co., 25 King St. W.
Mr. J. E. Hammell	41 Hillholme Rd.
Mr. J. D. Hanna	79 Lawrence Ave. E.
Mr. R. M. Harcourt	Harcourt, Poupore & Co., 27 Melinda St.
Mr. H. R. Hardy	34 Oriole Rd.
Mr. Geo. N. Hargraft	c/o Geo. R. Hargraft & Co., 49 Wellington St. E.
Mr. L. G. Hargraft	c/o Geo. R. Hargraft & Co., 49 Wellington St. E.
Mr. W. M. Hargraft	c/o Geo. R. Hargraft & Co.,

	49 Wellington St. E.
Mr. Roy Hargreaves	Room 1001, 159 Bay St.
Mr. A. H. Harkness	Room 620, 57 Bloor St. W.
Mr. F. C. Harler	1020-25 King St. W.
Mr. B. Dawson Harling	480 University Ave.
Mr. George Harlow	123 Braemore Gardens
Mr. Allan Davidson Harper	Bank of Montreal, 4 Wellington St. E.
Mr. Horace Harpham	129 Jarvis St.
Mr. W. F. Harrison	20 Hayter St.
Mr. D. W. Harvey	Toronto Transp. Com., 35 Yonge St.
Mr. E. J. Harbey	112-118 King St. W.
Dr. W. J. Harvey	709 Spadina Ave.
Mr. A. E. Hatch	41 Logan Ave.
Dr. Chas. S. Hawkins	221 Medical Arts Bldg., Bloor & St. George Sts.
Mr. H. S. Hawkins	C/o Bowes Co., Ltd., 58 Wellington St. E.
Mr. J. D. Hawthorne Jr.	94 Heath St., W
Mr. Frank Hay	Robt. Simpson Co., Yonge St.
Mr. Ruthven Hay	10 McCaul St.
Sir William Hearst	80 King St. W.
Mr. W. J. Heaven	C/o Anglo Can. Leather Co., 666 King St. W.
Mr. R. H. B. Hector	C/o Elias Rogers Co., 357 Bay St.
Mr. Charles T. Heintzman	Heintzman & Co. Ltd., 195 Yonge St.
Mr. G. B. Heintzman	193 Yonge St.
Mr. Geo. C. Heintzman	195 Yonge St.
Mr. G. E. Henderson	Educational Pub'g. Co., 36 Shuter St.
Mr. J. L. Henderson	26 Adelaide St. W.
Mr. Robert. Henderson	320 Bay St.
Mr. George C. Hendrie	Hendrie & Co. Ltd., 3 Peter St.
Hon. G. S. Henry	Parliament Bldgs.
Mr. H. B. Henwood	C/o Bank of Toronto, King & Bay Sts.
Mr. Wm. S. Herbert	Pilot Insurance Co., 159 Bay St.
Mr. Wm. Herbinson	Wm. Herbinson Co., 58 Front St. W.
Mr. Gordon Herington	C/o A. E. Wilson & Co., Lumsden Bldg.
Mr. Percy Hermant	Hermant Bldg., 21 Dundas Sq. E.
Rev. Gordon Hern	25 Oakdene Cresc.
Mr. Wesley J. Herod	c/o T. Eaton Co., Ltd.
Mr. E. J. Hessin	287 Sheldrake Blvd.
Major E. A. Hetherington	20 Elm Ave.
Mr. Gordon W. Hewitt	c/o Massey, Sparrow & Hewitt,

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Mr. H. R. Heyes	c/o Hubbard Portable Oven Co.. 103 Bathurst St.
Mr. Fred Page Higgins	c/o Fred Page Higgins & Co., 36 Toronto St.
Mr. F. W. J. Hill	70 Weybourne Crescent
Mr. Roy G. Hill	240 Madison Ave.
Mr. A. M. Hobberlin	145 Yonge St.
Mr. George Hobbs	474 Bathurst St.
Mr. John F. Hobkirk	c/o Montreal Trust Co., 61 Yonge St.
Mr. M. S. Hodgeman	Saturday Night, 73 Richmond St. W.
Mr. W. H. Hoidge	85 Richmond St. West
Mr. J. F. Hollis	164 Westminster Ave.
Mr. G. S. Holmested	J. P. Langley & Co., McKinnon Bldg.
Mr. James Honan	92 Adelaide St. W.
Lt.-Col. B. O. Hooper	Mgr. Canadian Bank of Commerce, Yonge & Queen Sts.
Mr. H. Hooper	548 Huron St.
Mr. J. C. B. Horwood	229 Yonge St.
Mr. Geo. S. Hougham	Retail Merchants' Ass., 28 Bloor St. W.
Mr. E. O. Houghton	38 Beaufort Rd.
Mr. H. C. Houston	Head Office, Imperial Bank.
Mr. H. T. Houston	Robert Simpson Co., Ltd., Yonge St.
Mr. Clifford H. Howard	c/o John C. M. German & Co., 330 Bay St.
Mr. H. J. Howe	c/o Northrop & Lyman, 462 Wellington St. W.
Mr. Joseph E. Howes	1105-137 Wellington St. W.
Mr. Thos. H. Howse	The MacLean Pub. Co., 481 University Ave.
Mr. Robert Huckvale	98 Balmoral Ave.
Mr. T. C. Hudson	Candn. National Railways, 1405 C.N. Express Bldg.
Mr. Gordon R. Hughes	c/o Toronto Rattan Co. Ltd., 1137 King St. W.
Maj.-Gen. G. B. Hughes, C.B. C.M.B., D.S.O.	45 St. Clair Ave. W.
Dr. Jas. L. Hughes	47 Dundonald St.
Mr. S. A. Hughes	Dom. Securities Corp. Ltd., 15 King St., W.
Mr. W. M. Hugill	Inspector's Dept., Royal Bank of Canada.
Dr. John N. Humphrey	468 Church St.
Mr. G. W. Humphries	Supt. of Letter Carriers, Station 'A'.
Lt.-Col. F. Fraser Hunter	16 Spadina Gardens, 45 Spadina Rd.
Mr. H. T. Hunter	481 University Ave.

Mr. J. A. Huston	36 Caledonia Rd.
Mr. B. T. Huston	MacLean Pub. Co., Ltd., 481 University Ave.
Mr. M. J. Hutchinson	Hugh C. MacLean Pub., 347 Adelaide St. W.
Mr. O. A. Hutchison	c/o Dom. Envelope & Carton Co., 130 Duchess St.
Mr. Morton C. Hutchinson	110 Old Forest Hill Rd.
Mr. Peter Hutton	Can. Dry Ginger Ale Ltd., 153 Sherbourne St.
Mr. W. S. Hutton	Can. Fire Undwtrs. Ass. Dept. 2015 Metropolitan Bldg.
Mr. William Inglis	John Inglis Co., 14 Strachan Ave.
Mr. T. T. Irving	Candn. National Railway, 436 Union Station.
Mr. R. Ivens, J.P.	182 Pearson Ave.
Mr. H. R. Jackman	Dom. Securities Corp., 15 King St. W.
Prof. G. E. Jackson	University of Toronto
Dr. G. F. Jackson	336 Spadina Rd.
Mr. Thomas D. Jackson	12 Dalton Rd.
Mr. E. R. Jacob	Canadian Metal Window & Steel Products Co., 160 River St.
Mr. W. G. Jaffray	c/o The Globe.
Mr. H. T. Jamieson	1704 Royal Bank Bldg.
Mr. K. W. Jamieson	Canadian Fire Underwriters Assn., 2015 Metropolitan Bldg.
Dr. L. E. Jaquith	72 Hudson Drive
Mr. G. Arthur Jarvis	c/o Reed Candn. Engravers, 179 John St
Mr. H. C. Jarvis	146 Forest Hill Rd.
Mr. H. St. J. Jarvis	1209 Hermant Bldg., 21 Dundas Sq.
Mr. Norman S. Jarvis	c/o Stewart, Scully Co., Ltd., 904 Royal Bank Bldg.
Mr. C. A. Jefferis	269 Front St. E.
Mr. Wellington J. Jeffers	56 Berwick Ave.
Mr. Gerald Jephcott	P. S. Ross & Sons, 10 Adelaide St. E.
Mr. D. O. Johnson	20 Edgar Ave.
Mr. F. Anglin Johnson	300-74 King St. E.
Mr. Main Johnson	c/o Toronto Star Weekly, 80 King St. W.
Col. Baptist Johnston	21 Melinda St.
Mr. Benson Johnston	112 Sun Life Bldg.
Mr. C. E. Johnston	320 Bay Street
Mr. Erskine B. Johnston	1508 Sterling Tower
Mr. R. B. Johnston	72 Heath St., W.

Dr. Samuel Johnston	108 Avenue Rd.
Mr. W. R. Johnston	Apt. 104, 2 Sultan St.
Mr. T. Roy Jones	5 Parkwood Ave.
Mr. G. J. L. Jones	Deputy Assistant Treas., Parliament Bldgs.
Mr. J. Earle Jones	106 Kildonan Drive
Major Lawrence Junkin	64 Wellington St. W.
Mr. H. A. Kee	303 Russell Hill Rd.
Mr. George M. Kellam	1239 Queen St. W.
Mr. Fred G. Ketcheson	c/o New York Life Ins. Co., 1008 Northern Ont., Bldg., 330 Bay St.
Mr. T. K. Kennedy	237 Sheldrake Blvd.
Mr. Palmer Kent	City Solicitor's Office, City Hall
Rev. J. McD. Kerr	312 Roehampton Ave.
Mr. John E. Kerr	c/o Messrs. Kerr, Kitchen & Keyes, 371 Bay St.
Prof. D. R. Keys	87 Avenue Rd.
Hon. T. Ashmore Kidd	Speakers' Chambers, Parliament Bldgs.
Mr. K. M. Kilbourn	c/o Wickett & Craig, Ltd., Cypress St.
Mr. R. C. Kilgour	50 Bloor St. E.
Mr. W. A. Kingsland	c/o Canadian National Rlys. New Union Station.
Mr. J. Victor Kinsman	Spruce Falls Power & Paper Co., 330 Bay St.
Mr. Georgt A. Kingston	Workman's Compensation Board, 68 Temperance St.
Col. W. B. Kingsmill	Messrs. Saunders, Kingsmill, Mills & Price, Federal Bldg.
Col. A. E. Kirkpatrick	Excelsior Life Bldg., 36 Toronto St.
Mr. A. M. M. Kirkpatrick	15 Toronto St.
Mr. W. R. Kirkpatrick	36 Toronto St.
Mr. A. N. Kirschmann	43-50 Front St. E.
Mr. Cyril W. Knight	25 King St. W.
Mr. Norman Knight	902-320 Bay St.
Mr. B. G. Labbett	United Drug Co. Ltd., 68 Broadview Ave.
Mr. Chas. LaBine	2001 Star Bldg.
Mr. John B. Laidlaw	12 Wellington St. E.
Mr. John R. Lamb	Gen. Mgr., Bank of Toronto, King & Bay Sts.
Mr. W. H. Lamont	720 Dominion Bank Bldg.
Mr. C. D. Landell	c/o J. J. McLaughlin Ltd., 153 Sherbourne St.
Mr. James Lang	253 Bay St.
Mr. A. W. Langmuir	801 Dominion Bank Bldg.
Brig.-Gen. J. G. Langton	16 Glen Grove W.

Mr. W. A. Langton	1164 Bay St.
Mr. T. C. Lapp	The Legionary, Manning Chambers.
Mr. Arthur Larrington	Western Assurance Co., 18 Wellington St. E.
Mr. G. A. Lascelles	Treasury Dept., City Hall.
Mr. J. E. McLaughlin	72 Queen St. W.
Mr. J. E. Laughlin	504-72 Queen St. W.
Mr. Geo. V. Laughton	MacLean Pub. Co. Ltd., 481 University Ave.
Mr. H. V. Laughton	National Trust Co., Ltd., 20 King St. E.
Mr. Wallace J. Laut	Frank J. Beech Pub. Co. Ltd., 159 Bay St.
Mr. Arthur Lavine	71 Gloucester St.
Mr. E. H. Lawson	21 Douglas Drive
Mr. Herbert Lea	164 Donlands Ave.
Mr. W. R. Ledger	128 Collier St.
Mr. H. T. I. Lee	15 King St. W.
Mr. Lawlor Lee	W. A. Lee & Son Ltd., 18 Wellington St. E.
Mr. William Leibel	209 Spadina Rd.
Mr. W. E. Lemon	99 Garfield Ave.
Mr. O. E. Lennox	Assistant Master, Osgoode Hall.
Mr. T. D'Arcy Leonard	1702 Can. Permanent Bldg.
Mr. Robert R. Leslie	65 Shaw St.
Mr. R. V. LeSueur	Imperial Oil Ltd., 56 Church St.
Mr. W. W. Lindsay	29 Mount Royal Ave.
Mr. A. P. Linnell	Can. National Telegraphs, 347 Bay St.
Mr. Hall Linton	Consolidated Press Ltd., 71 Richmond St. W.
Mr. M. Parker Lister	c/o Delaney & Pettit, Ltd., 133 Jefferson Ave.
Mr. Wm. Little	Tor. Gen. Trusts Corp., 253 Bay St.
Mr. Harold A. Livingstone	Concrete-Masonry Ltd., 201 McKinnon Bldg.
Mr. J. F. B. Livesay	272 Bay St.
Mr. Clarke Locke	Harbor Commission Bldg., Fleet St.
Mr. Geo. H. Locke	The Public Library, 214 College St.
Mr. A. V. Loftus	21 Ava Rd., Forest Hill
Mr. H. M. Lount	Parliament Bldgs.
Mr. M. A. Love	1475 Queen St. W.
Mr. Edgerton Lovering	1012-320 Bay St.
Mr. Geo. C. Loveys	801 Dominion Bank Bldg.
Mr. F. O. Lucas	141 Inglewood Dr.
Hon. I. B. Lucas	Hydro Electric Power Comm., 616 University Ave.
Mr. L. S. Lyon	704-17 Queen St. E.
Mr. K. F. McCausland	179 John St.

Mr. John W. McClain	Kent-McClain, Ltd., 181 Carlaw Ave.
Mr. D. McK McClelland	Price Waterhouse & Co., Royal Bank Bldg.
Mr. John McClelland	215 Victoria St.
Mr. H. C. McCloskey	717 Federal Bldg.
Dr. J. H. McConnell	1653 Dundas St. W.
Mr. J. W. McCoubrey	United Drug Co. Ltd., 68 Broadview Ave.
Mr. D. B. McCoy	928 Bank of Hamilton Bldg.
Mr. G. E. McCoy	477 Union Station.
Mr. Arthur T. McCrea	40 Oriole Rd.
Hon. Chas. McCrea, M.L.A.	Parliament Bldgs.
Mr. John M. McCrea	135 Evelyn Ave.
Mr. D. A. McCrimmon	1007 Excelsior Life Bldg.
Mr. J. W. McCullough	15 Toronto St.
Dr. A. J. McDonagh	12 Bloor St. E.
Mr. T. E. McDonnell	Can. Pacific Express Co., 88 Simcoe St.
Mr. D. L. McDougall	c/o Confed. Life Assoc., Confed. Life Bldg.
Mr. Wm. T. McEachern	2610 Can. Bank of Commerce Bldg.
Mr. C. C. McEwen	Imp. Varnish & Color Co., Morse St.
Hon. T. W. McGarry	26 Adelaide St. W.
Mr. T. D. McGaw	41 Roxboro Drive.
Col. H. McGee	c/o T. Eaton Co. Ltd.
Mr. S. McAdam	36 Toronto St.
Mr. H. W. McAll	134 Farnham Ave.
Mr. Alex. McD. McBain	Bank of Nova Scotia, 39 King St. W.
Mr. James McBride	Parliament Bldgs.
Mr. Leighton McCarthy	Canada Life Assce. Co., University Ave.
Mr. M. W. McGillivray	The Montreal Star Co. Ltd., 390 Bay St.
Mr. T. A. McGillivray	McGillivray Bros. Ltd., York & Harbour Sts.
Mr. D. F. McCraw	Canadian National Rlys., 1 Simcoe St.
Mr. R. F. McInnes	22 Pretoria Ave.
Mr. Thomas W. McIntosh	Pilot Insurance Co., 159 Bay St.
Mr. A. N. McIntosh	227 St. Clair Ave. W.
Mr. R. L. McIntyre	301 Augusta Ave.
Mr. S. W. McKeown	Suite 802, 330 Bay St.
Mr. Arthur McKennedy	Art Metropole, 36 Adelaide St. W.
Mr. J. M. McKerrow	Canadian National Rlys., Room 1469, 1 Simcoe St.
Mr. J. O. McKerrow	Abitibi Power & Paper Co., 408 University Ave.

Dr. J. N. McKinley	120 Bloor St. E.
Mr. W. L. McKinnon	McKinnon Bldg.
Mr. M. McKnight	128 Roxboro St. W.
Mr. W. A. McLean	8 McMaster Ave.
Mr. D. I. McLeod	c/o McLeod, Young & Weir, Metropolitan Bldg.
Mr. Geo. J. McLeod	266 King St. W.
Mr. J. A. McLeod	Bank of Nova Scotia, 38 Melinda St.
Mr. W. N. McLeod	c/o F. N. Burt Co. Ltd., 330 Bay St.
Mr. F. McMahon	352 Walmer Rd. Hill
Mr. John B. McMillen	c/o Bowes Co. Ltd., 58 Wellington St. E.
Mr. Robt. McMullin	Consolidated Bakeries of Canada, 14 King St. E.
Mr. R. R. McMurtry	1105-350 Bay St.
Mr. Leonard L. McMurray	107 West Lodge Ave.
Mr. G. Don McMurrich	22 Toronto St.
Mr. C. McNair	Mgr., Rly. Sales & Serv. Dept., Imperial Oil Ltd., 56 Church St.
Mr. E. W. McNeill	c/o Chartered Trust & Executor, 34 King St. W.
Mr. Geo. G. McNeillie	McNeillie & Co., 25 King St. W.
Mr. R. S. McPherson	1018 Federal Bldg.
Mr. D. S. McTavish	25 Dalton Rd.
Mr. J. M. McWhinney	14 King St. E.
Mr. C. E. P. McWilliams	320 Jarvis St.
Mr. D. B. McWilliams	c/o Dresser Mfg. Co. Ltd., 32 Front St. W.
Mr. M. H. McWilliams	18 Wellington St. E.
Mr. Thos. J. Macabe	c/o Buntin, Reid Co. Ltd., 117 Peter St.
Col. C. D. H. MacAlpine, D.B.E.	Concourse Bldg.
Hon. Leopold Macaulay	Highways Dept., Parliament Bldgs.
Mr. John C. M. MacBeth	Northern Ontario Bldg., 330 Bay St.
Mr. W. A. F. MacBrien	14 King St. W.
Dr. A. E. MacDonald	151 Bloor St. W.
Mr. Hugh MacDonald	1404 Bank of Hamilton Bldg.
Mr. Hubert MacDiarmid	78 Wembly Drive
Mr. W. T. A. MacFadyen	4 Wellington St. E.
Mr. E. S. MacFarlane	c/o Mfrs. Life Ins. Co., 200 Bloor St. E.
Mr. L. R. MacGregor	Australian Trade Commissioner in Canada, 15 King St. W.
Mr. Jas. Patrick MacGregor	1708 Star Bldg.
Mr. G. A. MacGillivray	Asst. Master, Osgoode Hall

Mr. J. M. MacIntosh	MacDonald & MacIntosh, 357 Bay St.
Col. J. Keiller MacKay	312 Federal Bldg.
Mr. J. B. MacKay	c/o Canadian Pacific Steamships, Canadian Pacific Bldg.
Mr. D. R. MacKenzie	c/o Mfrs. Life Ins. Co., Bloor St. E.
Col. J. B. MacLean	481 University Ave.
Mr. J. F. MacLaren	66 Woodlawn Ave. W.
Mr. Ian MacLaren	Rochester & Pittsburgh Coal Co. of Canada, 1609 Royal Bank Bldg.
Mr. Hugh C. MacLean	Hugh C. MacLean Pub., 347 Adelaide St. W.
Mr. J. K. MacLeod	Ontario Club, 16 Wellington St. W.
Dr. R. J. MacMillan	28 Admiral Rd.
Mr. W. R. MacNamara	MacLean Pub. Co., 481 University Ave.
Mr. A. Macoomb	104 Bond St.
Mr. Donald R. MacQuarrie	c/o MacQuarrie & Petman, 105 Victoria St.
Mr. A. Montye Macrae	9th Floor, Star Bldg.
Mr. E. M. Macrae	17 Queen St. E.
Rev. A. S. Madill	102 Wells St.
Mr. M. I. Magi	c/o Florentine Co. Ltd., 252 King St. E.
Mr. W. Magladery	128 Walmer Rd.
Mr. R. G. Mainer	1379 Avenue Rd.
Mr. C. S. Malcolm	Dominion Fire Ins. Co., 465 Bay St.
Mr. Fred Mallison	73 Richmond St. W.
Mr. Robt. Mancantelli	233 Wright Ave.
Mr. Jas. P. Manley	302-320 Bay St.
Mr. T. R. Manning	Confederation Life Ass., 17 Queen St. E.
Mr. J. Q. Maunsell	1308 C. P. R. Bldg.
Mr. Geo. E. Mara	210-347 Bay St.
Mr. F. Hedley Marsh	Bank of Toronto, King & Bay Sts.
Mr. Alex. Marshall	Canadian Manufacturers Assoc., 1404 Bank of Hamilton Bldg.
Mr. K. R. Marshall	c/o Standard Fuel Co., 79 King St. E.
Mr. E. C. Martin	Dunlop Tire & Rubber Goods Co., 870 Queen St. E.
Hon. W. G. Martin	Dept. of Public Welfare, Parliament Bldgs.
Mr. J. H. Martin	76 Adelaide St. W.
Mr. John R. Martin	55 Elmer Ave.
Mr. O. Masse	Transportation Dept., C.N.R., Union Station.
Mr. A. L. Massey	707 Dominion Bank Bldg.
Mr. Arnold C. Matthews	1702 Royal Bank Bldg.
Mr. A. B. Matthews	Matthews & Co., 2100-80 King St. W.
Mr. F. B. Matthews	McCarthy & McCarthy,

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Mr. Jas. G. Mathews	49 Glengowan Rd.
Mr. R. C. Matthews	134 Lyndhurst Ave.
Mr. John Maxwell	Room 115, City Hall.
Mr. Geo. E. May	May Bros. Ltd., 2869 Dundas St. W.
Mr. J. Edward Maybee	c/o Messrs. Ridout & Maybee, Kent Bldg.
Mr. John Medland	21 Front St. E.
Mr. R. E. Meeker	MacLean Pub. Co. Ltd., 481 University Ave.
Mr. G. H. Meldrum	c/o Toronto Lawn Tennis Club, 44 Price St.
Mr. E. H. Menhenitt	The Menhenitt Co. Ltd., 70 Victoria St.
Dr. F. W. Merchant	Parliament Bldgs.
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Mr. W. J. Meridew	1060 Briar Hill Ave.
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Mr. Martin M. Merry	6 Adelaide St. E.
Lt.-Col. James Mess	54 Wellington St. W.
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Mr. Bruce M. Metcalf	35 Parkview Gardens.
Mr. Arthur W. Miles	396 College St.
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Mr. Andrew Miller	302 McKinnon Bldg.
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Mr. William Miller	94 Tyndall Ave.
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Mr. Wm. James Mills	106 Simpson Ave.
Mr. A. N. Mitchell	Canada Life Assce. Co., University Ave.
Brigadier-Gen. Mitchell	35 North Sherbourne St.
Mr. B. L. Mitchell	Royal Bank of Canada, 2 King St. E.
Mr. C. S. F. Mitchell	14 Dickens Ave.
Mr. J. W. Mitchell	c/o Dom. Securities Corpn., 15 King St. W.
Mr. L. W. Mitchell	Treasury Dept., T. Eaton Co. Ltd.
Mr. W. G. Mitchell	88-90 Adelaide St. E.
Major W. D. Moffatt	254 Bay St.
Mr. W. R. Moffat	Bell Telephone Co., 76 Adelaide St. W.
Mr. H. S. Mole	32 Dixon Ave.
Mr. Jos. Montgomery	808 Federal Bldg.
Mr. T. F. Monypenny	6 Morse St.
Mr. F. Moore	c/o Benj. Moore & Co. Ltd., 6 Lloyd Ave.

Mr. H. Napier Moore	MacLean Publishing Co., University Ave.
Mr. R. C. Moore	Imperial Oil Ltd., 56 Church St.
Mr. W. G. Moore	Imperial Bank of Canada, Head Office.
Mr. R. B. Morley	Fifth Floor, 600 Bay St.
Mr. Alex. C. Morris	Sales Mgr., Canadian Oil Co. Ltd., Strachan Ave.
Mr. C. J. Morris	481 University Ave.
Mr. E. M. Morris	36 Toronto St.
Mr. James Morris	29 Bernard Ave.
Mr. R. S. Morris	38 Bloor St. W.
Mr. Frank G. Morrison	487 Oriole Parkway.
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Mr. C. J. Musson	225 Jarvis St.
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Mr. Gerald Nash	79 King St. E.
Major A. E. Nash	15 Wellington St. W.
Mr. W. S. Naylor	1411 Can. Bank of Commerce Bldg.
Mr. B. A. Neale	Royal York Hotel, Front St. W.
Mr. C. F. Needham	Canadian National Rlys., Room 426, Union Station.
Mr. R. J. Needham	C.N.R. Express Bldg.
Mr. C. F. Neelands	Dept. of Provincial Sec., Parliament Bldgs.
Mr. E. V. Neelands	Ventures Ltd., 100 Adelaide St. W.
Mr. Balmer Neilly	700-15 King St. W.
Mr. S. G. Newdick	189 Marion St.
Mr. Hy. A. Newman	1102 Excelsior Life Bldg.

Mr. B. G. Newton	c/o MacLean Pub. Co., 481 University Ave.
Mr. C. H. Nicholson	29 Whitehall Rd.
Mr. H. A. Nicholson	MacLean Publishing Co., 481 University Ave.
Mr. James Nicholson	125 George St.
Mr. W. W. Nixon	Excelsior Life Ins. Co., 36 Toronto St.
Mr. Wilfred G. Noble	Wilfred G. Noble Ltd., 64 Gerrard St.
Mr. J. A. North	Canadian National Rlys., 1 Simcoe St.
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Mr. R. K. Northey	Telfer Paper Box Co. Ltd., 14 Duncan St.
Mr. T. W. F. Norton	Canada Life Assce. Co., 320 University Ave.
Mr. J. E. Nunn	121 Alexandra Blvd.
Mr. R. B. O'Brienn	26 Standish Ave.
Mr. G. E. O'Brien	217 Bay St.
Mr. Geoffrey S. O'Brian	National Trust Co. Ltd., 20 King St. E.
Mr. Charles Ogilvy	United Drug Co., 68 Broadview Ave.
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Col. J. Ewart Osborne	50 Crescent Rd.
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Mr. Wm. A. Osborne	305 Inglewood Dr.
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Mr. E. Palter	221 Richmond St. W.
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Dr. Charles B. Parker	Medical Arts Bldg.
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Mr. N. F. Parkinson	Ventures Ltd., 100 Adelaide St. W.
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Mr. Edward Patten	289 Roehampton Ave.
Mr. Henry C. Patten	Toronto Transp. Comm., 35 Yonge St.
Mr. H. F. Patterson	Bank of Nova Scotia, 39 King St. W.
Mr. C. S. Patterson	289 Queensdale Ave.

Mr. J. P. Patterson	105 Bond St.
Mr. Frederick M. Payne	87 Chatsworth Drive.
Mr. James Payne	87 Chatsworth Drive.
Mr. J. A. Pearson	2 Leader Lane
Mr. John Pearson	Canada Life Bldg., University Ave.
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Lt.-Col. Norman D. Perry	702 Excelsior Life Bldg.
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Mr. Douglas Ponton	Room 9, 43 Adelaide St. E.
Mr. E. R. Popham	1027 Bathurst St.
Mr. D. H. Porter	357 Bay St.
Mr. Chas. Ed. Potter	307 Tyrall Bldg., 95 King St. E.
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Mr. J. Powley	100 Wellington St. W.
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Mr. Harold Pugh	Mid-Canada Exploration Co., Ltd., 500-465 Bay St.
Mr. Harry Pullan	21 Edgewood Cresc.
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Mr. Fraser Raney	Raney, Graydon & Lawrence, 465 Bay St.
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Mr. Campbell Reaves	165 St. George St.
Mr. H. Reburn	Treasury Dept., City Hall.
Mr. T. Reburn	Canada Permanent Corp., 320 Bay St.
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Col. LeGrand Reed	64 Wellington St. W.
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Mr. Harry Rotenburg	2100 Sterling Tower Bldg.
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Major H. L. N. Salmon	185 Spadina Ave.
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Mr. B. K. Sandwell	Saturday Night, 73 Richmond St. W.
Dr. G. Saporito	85 Richmond St. W., Suite 516.
Mr. Emil Sauer	302 Bay St.
Mr. E. M. Saunders	12 Scarth Rd.
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Mr. C. H. Scales	628 King St. W.
Mr. J. H. Scandrett	15 Wellington St. E.
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Mr. J. J. Seitz	135 Victoria St.
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Mr. R. W. R. Shearer	502 Manning Chambers.
Mr. J. B. Sherring	City Hall.
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Mr. A. Watson Sime	56 Church St.
Mr. Neil Sinclair	36 King St. E.
Mr. A. W. R. Sinclair	320 Bay St.
Mr. D. B. Sinclair	105 Victoria St.
Rev. Lawrence Skey	661 Dufferin St.
Mr. V. N. Smallpiece	24 Wellington St. W.
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Mr. A. L. Smith	206 Geoffrey St.
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Mr. F. D. L. Smith	74 Howland Ave.
Mr. G. H. Smith	Canada Permanent, 320 Bay St.
Mr. G. Everton Smith	41 Ridge Drive.
Mr. H. M. Smith	c/o N. Smith Belting Works, 138 York St.
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Mr. A. L. Smoke	330 Bay St.
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Mr. C. W. Stephens	41 Spruce St.
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Mr. D. K. Stewart	4 Wellington St. E.
Mr. John W. W. Stewart	190 Cortleigh Blvd.
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Mr. W. Dunlop Stewart	64 Wellington St. W.
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Mr. E. E. Stockdale	302 Bay St.
Mr. F. T. Stocking	Hydro Electric Power Comm., 616 University Ave.
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Mr. E. George Taylor	154 Glen Manor Drive.

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Mr. Jos. Taylor	83 Spencer Ave.
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Mr. Garrett Tyrrell	724 Federal Bldg.
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Dr. C. A. Warren	536 St. Clair Ave. W.
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Mr. G. F. Watson	55 Glen Road.

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Mr. J. Westren	138 Dunvegan Road.
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Mr. E. Wheatley	109 Glenview Ave.
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